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IN

NORTH AMERICA,

IN THE

YEARS 1827 AND 1828.

By CAPTAIN BASIL HALL,

ROYAL NAVY.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

VOL. III.

SECOND EDITION.

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building well placed on a high ground—to the President's house, and the public offices near it.

Washington stands on the left bank of the Potomac, in what is called the District of Columbia —a portion of territory distinct from all the States in the Union, and appropriated by common agreement as the site of the capital, and the residence of the General Government. This space contains one hundred square miles; and many persons in that country believe the time will come when their capital shall cover the whole area of this great square.

Washington offers so many objects of attraction to strangers, that we were tempted to remain there upwards of a month. The society is very agreeable, and is interesting, in many respects, from being composed of persons assembled from every part of the Union, and, I may add, from every part of Europe—for the Corps Diplomatique form a considerable party of themselves. The same kindness and hospitality were shown to us here, as elsewhere; and the hours for evening parties being always early, it was possible to go a good deal into company without much fatigue; although the smallness of the rooms made the heat and crowd sometimes not very pleasant. It is foreign to my purpose, however, to enter into any minute description of a society, drawn together for a temporary purpose,

and living under disadvantageous circumstances as to the elegancies of life. With slight modifications, the remarks made at Philadelphia and elsewhere will apply to the Capital. Differences in style and manners were to be found there, as in every other place: but, however this may be, we, individually, never discovered the slightest diminution of that attention by which we had already been so much flattered, during the journey.

My chief object in arranging matters for visiting Washington at this period, was to attend to the proceedings of Congress, of which I had everywhere heard so much. Connected with this purpose, was the desire of making acquaintance with the principal men of the country, assembled at head-quarters, expressly to devote themselves to public business. And I was well pleased to find these gentlemen had sufficient leisure to satisfy the enquiries of a stranger.

I accordingly visited the Capitol every day, or almost every day; and if not actually in the Senate or the House of Representatives, found ample objects of interest in the Supreme Court, which holds its sittings in the same building. I found all the official men accessible—many of them affable, and nearly all of them as communicative as could be expected;—even from those who were not so frank as I could have wished, there was still something

to be gained in the shape of stimulus to fresh investigation, or in wholesome checks to those views which insinuate themselves into our breasts when we least suspect their existence.

As a literal transcript from my journal of our daily proceedings at Washington would not give, upon the whole, nearly so just a conception of our visit as a more condensed summary may convey, I shall throw together, without much attention to arrangement, the results of this interesting period, perhaps the most instructive of the whole journey.

The Representative Hall in the Capitol differs from the House of Commons, not less in its architecture and furniture, than in habits of doing business. In the House of Commons, the members are crowded into an old-fashioned, oblong room, of such convenient dimensions, however, that any member's voice may easily be heard when raised a little above the pitch of ordinary conversation; and, consequently, the loud oratorical tone, which is the bane of good debating, is entirely excluded, as unnecessary, and out of place. It is furnished with benches, ranged in rows, rising one above another, for the members; while the strangers are squeezed into a little gallery.

The House of Representatives at Washington, on the contrary, is a splendid hall of a semicircular form, 96 feet across, and 40 in height. Along its

circumference are placed fourteen marble columns, reaching to the vaulted dome, and fancifully tied together under the cornice by festoons of red damask. The gallery for the public, which is raised about twenty feet above the floor of the House, extends along the whole circuit behind these columns. In the centre below sits the Speaker, from whose chair seven passages radiate to the circumference, whilst the members sit in concentric rows facing the Speaker; the whole arrangement being not unlike in form to that of half of a spider's web. Every member has a snug, stuffed, comfortable arm-chair allotted to him; besides a writing-desk furnished with all the apparatus of paper, pens, and ink, and a drawer underneath, of which he keeps the key.

This noble room, or more properly amphitheatre, is not well adapted for hearing. Were it actually a theatre, and the audience seated where the members are placed, while the actors addressed them from the corridor, or open space behind the Speaker's chair, along the diameter of the semicircle, I dare say it might do very well; because the Speaker, when addressing the House from the chair, was heard distinctly enough by the members. It was always difficult, however, for any member of the House to make himself heard. I spoke to one of them about this essential defect. He replied, that

for once, in America, utility had been sacrificed to beauty; "which," said he, good-humouredly enough, "you must do us the justice to say, is not often the fault of this country."

The most perfect decorum prevails at all times in the House—no coughing—no cheering—no hear! hear!—none of those indefinable, but significant sounds, which are so irresistibly efficacious in modifying the debates of the House of Commons. Every member of Congress is permitted to speak at any length he pleases, without interruption. I cannot say, however, that there is a correspondent degree of attention paid to what is said; for, independently of the reverberations of sound from the dome, or the waste of it in filling the intercolumniations, there are other sources of disturbance constantly going on, which drown a great part of what is said. Except when some remarkably good speaker has 'possession of the floor,' the members, instead of attending to what is spoken, are busied in conversation—in writing letters—rapping the sand off the wet ink with their knuckles—rustling the countless multitude of newspapers which deluge the House—locking or unlocking their drawers—or moving up and down the avenues which divide the ranges of seats, and kicking before them, at every step, printed reports, letter covers, and other documents strewed

on the floor. A couple of active little boys are always seen running to and fro with armfuls of papers, or carrying slips of writing from members to the chair, or from member to member. Whenever any one rises to speak, who, there is reason to infer, from experience, or from internal evidence, will be lengthy, one of these little Mercuries flies off for a glass of water, which he places on the orator's desk.

A wide passage skirts the base of the columns, between each of which there stands a commodious sofa, on which the members, or such strangers as have the entré granted them by the Speaker, may lounge at their ease. Ladies are not allowed to come on the floor of the house, but only into the gallery. When, however, I chanced to go alone, I always found an excellent place behind the Speaker's chair, along with the Foreign Ambassadors and other strangers. The reporters for the newspapers had a place assigned to them in this quarter of the House.

The Senate Chamber is similar in form to that of the Hall of Representatives, but of course it is much smaller; the diameter of the semicircle being only 75 feet.

The Capitol itself is a large and handsome building, though some people think the effect is hurt by three flat domes on the top, hardly in character

with the rest of the architecture. I thought the effect of the whole very good. Under the centre dome is a lofty hall, called the Rotundo, the niches of which are ornamented with colossal pictures by Trumbull. Adjacent to this, and connected by a flight of steps, is the library of Congress, a pleasant and well-arranged apartment.

The stone of which the Capitol is built, is well adapted for such a building, being a coarse-grained freestone, with a slight, but by no means unpleasant tinge of yellow. By some strange perversity of taste, however, for which I never could learn to whom the public were indebted, this fine building has been covered over with a coating of paint! The situation being an elevated one, the effect of the weather, during the hard gales which blow in winter, added to the scorching heats of the summer, has been to wear away this crust at so many places, that the poor wall is exposed in no very seemly condition.

I went often to the Senate, and remained there from noon, when business commenced, till three, when they generally adjourned. Nearly all this time was occupied, on the first day I attended, in discussing the merits of a bill for abolishing imprisonment for debt. The object of the measure, if I understood it properly, was to limit the operation of the principle to cases falling under the

jurisdiction of the United States courts, and was not meant to apply to those of the particular States. In order further to soften the opposition to this measure, its effects were to be prospective, and were only to concern cases subsequent to the next 4th of July—1828.

It is not my intention to enter into this question, or that of the bankrupt laws in America, which were described to me as being very loose, —in fact, there is no general bankrupt law, and the whole question stands in great need of careful revision. At present, I shall merely speak of the manner in which the debate was conducted.

Five of the senators spoke—several of them more than once; but, with a solitary exception, I must say, the style of speaking was really like any thing but business. Instead of sticking to the point, they all wandered off into what is much miscalled eloquence, and entertained the House with long strings of truisms and common-places, such as these very same men would not have used, or at all events, were not in the habit of using, in ordinary conversation. Every thing about these debates, indeed, seemed uncommonly juvenile; and I was repeatedly startled, and almost forced to smile, when, after a considerable flourish of trumpets and preparation, some old, well-known maxim came forth, the truth of which had in every other

country been long since granted, and laid by, like an old letter, on a distant shelf, to be referred to if wanted, but, in the practice of life, never unfolded again.

This I had been prepared for in some degree; but I was still more amused with a reference to the old country, which came in quite unexpectedly. One of the gentlemen, in the course of a speech recommending the abolition of imprisonment for debt, alluded to the fact, that in England, where the nobility were not liable to incarceration for debt, no evil ensued. "Now," he asked triumphantly, "are we less to be trusted in our relations with one another, than the titled, privileged aristocracy of that country? Are we, in this great, happy, and free land, less worthy of confidence than they are? Are our merchants, our traders, our farmers, our graziers, and all the other high-minded men of our country, less entitled to be placed on a footing of confidence with one another, than the hereditary nobility of England? We have no patricians here—no plebeians—no! in this free country we are all nobles, and all commoners!"

The next gentleman spoke rather more to the purpose, and, being a clear-headed person, came sooner to his point, though at a length which would not have been tolerated elsewhere. He ended by declaring his willingness to agree to the bill upon

a certain condition, I forget what. On his amendment being read from the chair by the Vice-President of the United States, who is chairman of the Senate, a long debate ensued, in which little, if any attention, was paid to the original object, while all other matters, which by any possibility could be made to bear upon it, were lugged in and descanted upon. After three or four senators had spoken, the proposer of the bill gained the floor again, and was very eloquent and pathetic in the picture he drew of the distress, chains, dungeons, as well as the destruction of morals, manners, and so on, by the measure he wished to abolish. This was so new a style of public speaking, that it interested me exceedingly; but it seemed to weary his brother senators a little, as they rose one by one, and fell into knots to chat in the passage.

The amendment was eventually withdrawn, and I thought we should now have a division, as the gentleman observed that the measure had been long enough before Congress, or, as he expressed it, "a matter of six years;" but a motion for adjourning the debate was carried. On many a subsequent day, when I visited the senate, I found this old threadbare, six-years' subject still under discussion, without its ever appearing to advance one inch.

In the course of this debate, one of the senators

remarked, that there was actually another bill in progress through the house, having a similar object in view, of the existence of which the gentleman who originated this motion seemed not to be at all aware. This, and one or two other little circumstances, made me begin to suspect that there was no previous concert or plan of arrangements amongst the different parties for bringing forward particular measures in Congress. But I wished to see more before I decided, particularly as a gentleman to whom I spoke about this day's debate, assured me I had been unfortunate in the day of my attendance in the Senate, for, in general, things were managed with much greater order and attention to business. I confess I saw no want of order; on the contrary, there seemed too much formality, and rather a want of spirit, in the proceedings.

But there was no deficiency of animation in the House of Representatives, to which I proceeded when the Senate adjourned. They were in the midst of a warm discussion respecting a pecuniary compensation claimed by a certain inhabitant of New Orleans, for a slave impressed into the service of the United States, during the late war, and wounded in the course of the campaign. The debate turned upon the question, whether this slave was to be paid for as so much property lost. Out

of this sprung the general enquiry, whether or not slaves are in fact property. The affirmative was warmly maintained by the members from the southern States, and as vehemently denied by some gentlemen from the northern, or non-slave-holding sections of the Union. The other and more abstract questions relating to slavery, however, were professedly avoided by both sides, at this stage of the debate, and the question for a time confined to its own particular merits. But this discreet course was entirely lost sight of during the subsequent discussion, which lasted upwards of ten days, during which the principle and practice of slavery were brought fully before the house. The first day's debate, however, got pretty warm, and I could see various personalities creeping in, when a motion was made to adjourn, which cut the matter short for that day.

On the 1st of January, 1828, the President held a levee, at which we attended. On the 4th of July —the grand anniversary of their independence— we were told, all the world attends; but on New Year's day there is some principle of exclusion exercised. How this matter is effected in practice I could never find out, but I can imagine the poor porter to have a delicate job of it; for, in a land of universal equality, the line of admission must often

lie so close to that of exclusion, that to split the difference may require fine tools.

Be this as it may, we found the scene very interesting, as we not only saw and conversed with the President, but made acquaintance with several military and naval officers of distinction, and with many other persons we were anxious to meet. The suite of apartments thrown open consisted of two handsomely furnished drawing-rooms, leading to a well proportioned ball-room, which, however, I was surprised to find entirely unfurnished and bare. Even the walls were left in their unpainted plaster. Here was a degree of republican simplicity beyond what I should have expected, as it seemed out of character with what I saw elsewhere. Upon enquiring into this matter, I learnt, that although one Congress had voted a sum of money,—twenty-five thousand dollars, or about five thousand guineas,—for the purpose of fitting up the President's house, the succeeding Congress, which, as usual, contained a large proportion of new members, fresh from the woods, asked what was the use of expending so much of the public money, when people could dance as well, or even better, in the empty room, than in one crowded with furniture. At all events, whatever be the cause, the fact bears testimony to a degree of economy, of which very few Americans that I conversed with did not com-

plain, as being rather too parsimonious, and, all things considered, not a very dignified or discreet exposure, at the chief point of attraction for all foreigners.

I had read so much in the public papers of the discussions in Congress about the extravagance of the President, in the outfit of this house, especially respecting the monstrous fact of his having ordered a billiard-table as part of his furniture, that I looked sharply about for this dreadful engine of vice, which, innocent or insignificant as it may appear, was actually made to play a part in the great electioneering presidential question—which seemed to turn all men's heads. I myself heard this billiard-table spoken of in Congress more than once, with perfect seriousness, as a sort of charge against Mr Adams, who was then President. I may add, that this was only one of a thousand petty darts which were levelled at the same person; and which, though insignificant, taken separately, were like those that subdued Gulliver, by no means to be despised when shot by multitudes. The following paragraph from a letter published in the papers, is a fair specimen of this Lilliputian warfare:—

"I cannot support John Q. Adams," says the writer, "because he has introduced a billiard-table into the President's house, for the amusement of

its inmates and visitors; thus holding out inducements to engage in a captivating vice—departing from plain republican manners—imitating the court etiquette of regal powers, and furnishing an example to the youth of our country, which, I conceive, can neither be too generally nor too severely reprehended."

This appears ludicrous to us, and so I imagine it is considered by rational Americans. Even by many sensible men in that country, however, the doctrine of simplicity in manners, in connexion with refinements in sentiment and in taste, is very often, as I think, quite misunderstood. If these refinements be carried too far, they may certainly run into extravagance or affectation; but, on the other hand, it seems to be forgotten, that if the graceful and innocent pleasures of life be systematically and generally despised over any country, there will be some danger of the inhabitants falling into coarseness both of thought and action, the very opposite to real simplicity.

But I am forgetting the Congress.—By the Constitution of the United States, as I have before mentioned, the President is not allowed to conclude treaties, or to fill up vacancies in official stations, without the concurrence of the Senate. He may negotiate the wisest possible treaty with a foreign nation, but he has no authority to ratify it without

submitting it to the consideration of the Senate ;— that is, to eight-and-forty persons, most of whom may not have had the smallest experience in that intricate branch of the science of government which has reference to foreign engagements. They may be able and public-spirited men, it is true; but mere talents and good intentions never did supply elsewhere, and never can supply any where, the place of that minute knowledge of what has gone before on the same subject, and of all the various interests and complicated relations which must be taken into consideration, before even a tolerable knowledge of the bearings of any treaty can be apprehended. Nevertheless, these public instruments require to pass through this popular ordeal before they can acquire a constitutional authority, or be binding on the nation. It is said, indeed, by some, that this leads to no evils in practice; but numerous instances of the contrary might easily be pointed out.

If the President, or the Secretaries of State, were to communicate personally with the Senate, which would then become a sort of Privy Council, the case might be in some degree different; though still, it may be supposed, there would be great difficulties in the way of transacting such delicate executive business with efficiency. But, when the whole matter submitted to the judgment of the

Senate is reduced to writing, and their determination thereupon is likewise sent back to the Executive in the same form, it is easy to understand how essentially cramped, retarded, and confused, the public business must be;—for I presume it will hardly be denied, that in most negotiations with foreign powers, there may be circumstances of the greatest importance, the details of which it might be altogether inexpedient, with a due regard to the public interest, to communicate to so great a number of persons, many of whom are not likely to understand their value; and yet, without such knowledge, it may be impossible to see the bearing of the measures in progress.

In the earlier period of the government of America, General Washington, when President, used to come to the Senate to discuss such matters. But this practice, which, by the way, shows his opinion plainly enough, was soon discontinued, and would now be looked upon as highly unconstitutional. There can be no doubt, however, from this circumstance, corroborated by some of the best authorities of those days, that the Senate was intended to act the part of an executive council fully more than that of a legislative body. They have, unquestionably, legislative powers given them, but there seems no reason to believe, that the framers of the Constitution ever contemplated the large proportion in

which the executive functions of the government have eventually come to be shared by the Senate.

On the contrary, there is abundant internal evidence, as well as some direct authority, for believing, that the statesmen who drew up the Constitution of America, foresaw the evils of uniting the Executive and Legislative power in the same hands, and sought to guard against this fatal rock —upon which so many antecedent republics have split—by a series of artificial checks, some of which look very well on paper, but few, in the opinion of most persons, have accomplished the purpose they were designed to serve.

I am not, however, writing an essay on the theory of government, or even pretending to give a history of the American republic, but wish as much as possible to confine myself to a description of things as they now exist, or rather, as they existed a year and a half ago—in the beginning of 1828,—for even so short a period as two years is often fraught, in that country, with the greatest constitutional changes.

The legislative and executive branches of the government are, in point of fact, absorbed by Congress. In England there is a well-known saying, that the King can do no wrong; in America, the maxim is nearly inverted, for it would seem as if the President could do no right. In England, the

Monarch is exempted from all responsibility, while his ministers, being available persons, bear the whole burden, under whatever nominal or real authority their measures may have been carried on. In America, the power of the chief magistrate—the constitutional Executive of the country—has been gradually abridged, till his actual authority, either for good or for evil, has been almost annihilated. In that country, therefore, the Executive is deprived almost entirely of the power of action, but still he is held responsible. In England, the Executive virtually possesses great authority, but is nominally free from responsibility.

Thus, while the effect in England is to narrow the responsibility, and to point out with more inevitable distinctness on whom it ought to rest, the result in America is to scatter the weight over a hundred shoulders. To drop all metaphor, the fact is this:—The government—the real and effective government of the country—is in the hands of the legislative bodies, the Executive, both in the general and in the State governments, being entirely at their command. Moreover, since all these legislators in Congress, as well as in the separate States, are elected frequently, by universal suffrage, and always undergo great changes, the administration of public affairs falls inevitably into unpractised hands; and it becomes utterly impossible to fix

the responsibility of public measures on men who come and are gone again in a moment.

I have already mentioned, that the President cannot conclude or ratify any treaty without the concurrence of the Senate, neither can he appoint the heads of departments, or other officers, who are to execute the various duties under him, without such sanction. He nominates, it is true, and there is certainly considerable power in this; but, as the Senate appoints, the responsibility is shared amongst many, instead of dwelling with one, which is the only way to procure good public or private service. The President has indeed the power of dismissing the secretaries of state, but he cannot appoint others, unless by and with the consent of the Senate.*

But the principle above stated is made to act more directly, as I have stated before, through the medium of permanent committees, who sit during all the session, and are the real Executive of the country. In the Senate, these committees are nominated by the Vice-President, and in the House of Representatives by the Speaker, at the commencement of the session. It will be at once perceived that these committees must partake of the political character of the person who names them;

* Sergeant's Constitutional Law, p. 360.

consequently, the appointment of a Speaker, which is the first act of each new Congress, is an object of great importance with the parties respectively

This state of things led, while I was in America, to a very curious result. The party favourable to General Jackson, and opposed to the administration of Mr Adams, found themselves in a majority at the meeting of the 20th Congress, in the end of 1827. After a pretty smart struggle, the predominant party succeeded in electing a Speaker of their own way of thinking; and he, of course, nominated committees more or less disposed to his own line of politics. The Speaker himself was a man of high character and public spirit; but there was nothing unusual or incompatible with these attributes, in his selecting competent men from his own party, who should at least have a preponderating influence in the committees, without such an exclusion of those members of the other side as were obviously proper persons to be named likewise. Were the choice of the Speaker professedly the act of the whole house, in order to their having a perfectly impartial head, any such leaning in the nomination of the standing committees would not be correct, of course; but when the choice of a Speaker is avowedly a party measure, and is made chiefly with a view to the construction of these very

committees, there is nothing incorrect in his proceeding upon that understanding.

It certainly does require considerable strength of character in a decided party man, on a question which agitates the whole country, to do the duty of Speaker with fairness. And I have often watched, with very lively interest and curiosity, to discover how my friend—for I have great pleasure in calling him so—would acquit himself. He succeeded, however, in commanding the respect of all parties, during the whole of a most stormy session, by merging his political character in that of the presiding officer of the house; but if he found his station a bed of roses, I am very much mistaken.

The curious result to which I alluded, was this:—The parties virtually in power, namely the majority of the House of Representatives, and consequently of the standing committees, were in open political hostility to the nominal Executive—to an Executive who could not move a step without the concurrence of these opponents—and yet with whom it was their duty to the country, and to themselves, to communicate without reserve! The awkwardness was mutual; for how could a party go on reprobating the measures of a government which they had the power to control?—or how, on the other hand, could they refuse their sanction to measures which they felt to be just,

and which, of course, would be the greater number of all the acts of government, though proposed by men against whom they were in open political warfare?

In the same way, it came to be a question of the nicest kind, what course was to be pursued in the House; for, the opposition being the majority, they had it in their power to carry what measures they pleased; and yet, by the constitution of things in that country, any such measures must take place under the authority of their antagonists.

It will be recollected, that in America the President is elected for four years, and cannot be constitutionally removed, unless by impeachment, till the expiration of this period. In this respect, therefore, as has often been remarked, the Americans have actually much less power to change the persons who administer their government, than the English have. For though a minister may sometimes hold his place for a short time in England, in a minority, the occurrence is very rare. In point of fact, the people of England do indirectly, but substantially, elect their rulers—and, through the influence of their representatives, as unquestionably possess the power of changing them—a privilege which the Americans do not, and cannot constitutionally enjoy, as long as their President is elected for a certain period of years.

I have already mentioned, in treating of the structure of the American government, that all men in office are strictly excluded from the Houses of Congress, and that the public business is greatly retarded and embarrassed by the large number of new and inexperienced members, who come in every second year. Resulting in some degree from the same circumstance, there is another serious impediment to the progress of public business, which comes into play with great effect. I mean the total absence of discipline, concert, previous arrangement, or whatever name it goes by, amongst the members. So much so, indeed, that there is always some reproach cast upon those who assemble at their own houses for such a purpose, and compose what is called a Caucus. The consequence is, that as every man in the House acts for himself, he is apt—very indiscreetly, for the ends of his party—to use the privilege of bringing forward, at any moment, such measures as suit his fancy. The circumstance first adverted to—the frequent and extensive changes amongst the members—leaves very few old and experienced men in the House; and although these persons, or even new members of talents and activity, do undoubtedly acquire a certain degree of ascendency over the minds and conduct of their fellow members, the actual practice is to acknowledge no

such guidance; each member taking good care, in the course of the session, to let his party see that he is independent. I have often observed the judicious and experienced men who had managed to carry their proceedings very guardedly up to a certain point, writhing under the blunders of their own friends, whose indiscreet, because ignorant zeal, had hurried them into some speech, or measure, entirely destructive of all that had gone before. These things ought perhaps not to surprise us; on the contrary, they may be the necessary consequences of the principle of democracy, as applied to a legislative body. The real wonder with many people appears to be, how things go on at all, or how the men of talents and high feelings or public spirit in that country, can make head-way against such disheartening obstacles.

At first sight it may possibly be thought, that if the period for which the members sat were longer, they would become acquainted with one another, and the men of real abilities and wisdom would have time to acquire the influence due to their superiority in these respects. But here, again, another bar to improvement, or what is called in America, a check, comes into play with great force. I have already alluded to this point, but it is one of such vast importance, that it can hardly be too often stated. The members are sent from parti-

cular districts, of which they must be residents, and the interests of those particular spots is their paramount duty, no matter how inconsistent it may be with that of their neighbouring district, their own State, or with that of the public at large. They are like so many advocates, retained expressly to support the particular views of particular parties; and they do so honestly and conscientiously, because constitutionally, and in strict accordance with the terms of the agreement which gives them a seat in the legislature. Of course, there must be many men in Congress and in the State legislatures, whom no consideration of local interests, still less of personal advantage, would induce to maintain doctrines, or vote for measures, hostile to the general good. But the principle of local duty to constituents, is one which I have heard so often and openly avowed, both in Congress, and out of it, by persons of such unquestionable knowledge, that I have no hesitation in stating it as the binding rule upon the great majority of the Representatives.

In attending Congress, nothing struck me so much as the exceeding looseness of their mode of debating, and especially the long-winded, rambling style of the speeches, which, seldom adhering long to the subject under discussion, roved away into topics having no sort of connexion with it. General

principles—moral maxims—assertions of honest intentions—declarations of national and individual independence—overwrought raptures at the increasing greatness of the country, contrasted with the decay of Europe—made up a considerable part of all these discourses. Or when the orations had a deeper object, and were directed, not to the subject in hand, but to the presidential or some other party question, it was quite impossible for any stranger to follow their windings without some interpretation.

It naturally occurred to me to ask, whether or not this style of speaking were generally approved of; but I never met a single person, old or young, Federalist or Democrat, Adams'-man or Jacksonian, who did not condemn the practice in the most unqualified terms, as being the greatest bore on earth, independent of its wasting time, and confounding all good business in a deluge of vapid eloquence, intended not for the House, nor for the country, but chiefly to be printed in pamphlets, for the edification of the constituents of the honourable members, who were never satisfied unless they had such direct proof of their representative having exerted himself.

"Why, then," I often asked, "do you all sit so patiently and listen to these long and prosy speeches? Why don't you cough down these wordy orators,

in order to make way for men of sense and information, and habits of business?"

An intelligent and candid friend, to whose obliging assistance in these enquiries I owe much, said fairly enough, in answer to these remarks, that although the system used in the House of Commons, of checking all approaches to prosing or wandering from the subject, or mere oratory, was very well amongst men thoroughly acquainted with one another, and accustomed during all their lives to a particular set of forms of breeding and mutual respect; yet that in Congress, and still more in the State legislatures, any such latitude of interference could not possibly answer. "We are collected here," he observed, "from all parts of the country; we come from every stage of civilisation, fresh from the people, and bring with us the manners and tastes of those different regions. We never remain long enough together to become personally acquainted, still less to acquire, by much intercourse, that uniform system of artificial deportment, without which crowded societies could not get on for a moment. Our people have been accustomed to such perfect freedom of speech and action—call it license, if you please—that there is no possibility of controlling them. If, as you suggest, there was a mutual agreement amongst the members of this particular Congress, for example, not to suffer fine

speaking and wordiness to be palmed upon us, but to cough when bored and jaded by impertinence, or to call out as you do, 'hear! hear!' in all its different tones of approbation or of scorn, you would soon see a fine uproar."

"What would happen?" I asked.

"Happen!" he exclaimed, "why, no man would be heard at all, and the whole arena—which I am sure you will now admit is a perfect model of decorum—might become a bear-garden. No, sir, we must keep to those forms and customs which are suitable to our character, situation, and institutions; and I for one, at least, should not like to see the rule you speak of relaxed in the slightest degree;—we could not bear it."

There could be no answer to this; so I begged to have his opinion upon the practical operation of that branch of their system which excluded all men in office from the Houses, where their information and talents might be of so much service in advancing public business. The reply to this was similar to what he had said about the practice of debating.

"There might," said he, "be some great advantages gained, no doubt, by having the ministers present during discussions involving the interests of the nation; but no one, unless he were made of cast-iron, could possibly stand the badgering to

which an official man would be exposed in our country, were he admitted to any of these legislative bodies. It seems, indeed, to be no joke in your House of Commons! But pray consider the nature of the persons who fill our assemblies; men of excellent intentions, and great moral worth and intelligence in their own sphere, no doubt, and always brimful of patriotism; but, as a matter of course, often entirely ignorant of those forms and other details of public business, which nothing but experience can give, and without a knowledge of which, the explanations given by official men would be unsatisfactory because unintelligible. Consequently, if our men in office were called upon, like your ministers, to answer, viva voce, questions put by members of the opposition, the whole time of the House, and of the minister too, would be swallowed up in elementary demonstrations; and the issue in every case would probably be an impeachment, or such a torrent of invectives as no man could bear up against. At present, when explanations are wanted, they are moved for, and if the House agrees, the Head of the Department from which information is wanted, is called upon, in writing, to furnish such and such documents, together with his explanations, also in writing. These, when sent back to the House, are referred to a Committee, which reports thereupon, and a fresh debate

may arise or not, as the report is satisfactory or otherwise.

"I grant that a great deal of time is thus wasted," he continued, "for if the ministers of state were present, a few words of explanation might settle many questions which now occupy as many weeks. But still I do not see, considering all things, and especially the horror which my countrymen have for any thing like undue influence on the freedom of debate, how it would be possible to admit men holding offices into our legislatures."

In pursuing these enquiries, I found there were absolutely no persons holding the station of what are called, in England, Leaders, on either side of the House. Persons of ability and address do, of course, acquire a certain degree of unsteady influence, even in assemblies so constituted; but this never appears to entitle them to the character of leading men. The bare insinuation of such pretensions, indeed, would inevitably lead to the downfall of the man so designated. It is true, that certain members do take charge of the administration questions, and certain others of opposition questions; but all this so obviously without concert among themselves, actual or tacit, that nothing can be conceived less systematic, or more completely desultory, disjointed, and unbusiness-like.

It will now be easily understood, how it happens that so little real work is done by Congress, at least through the medium of debate; or how little solid information can be communicated to the public, by means of the reported discussions. Nine-tenths, or perhaps a greater proportion of all the time of every session of Congress, as far as I could see, read about, or hear of in conversation, is always wasted in these interminable speeches; so that the real business, which comes to be crushed into the very end of the session, is, of course, so great, that very often many important bills cannot be got through the regular forms in due season, and consequently must be deferred till next year. If it should happen to be the second year, or last session of Congress, all such measures as have not fortunately succeeded in passing through the requisite forms, lapse as a matter of course, and must be again brought forward, from the beginning, in the new Congress; though many of these unhappy bills may, and often do, again share the same fate in the next, and so on through many successive Congresses.

CHAPTER II.

Although the debates in the National Legislature formed the chief object of interest at Washington, many other incidental matters arose, from time to time, to vary the picture.

The following advertisement caught my eye, in one of the newspapers :—

Marshal's Sale.

By authority of a writ of fieri facias, issued from the Clerk's Office of the Circuit Court, in this district, for the county of Washington, to me directed, I shall expose to sale, for cash, on Tuesday, the 15th instant, Negro George, a slave for life, and about sixteen years old. Seized and taken in execution of, as the goods and chattels of Zachariah Hazle, and will be sold to satisfy a debt due by him to William Smith.

Sale to be at the County Court-House Door, and to commence at 12 o'clock, M.

Tench Ringgold,

jan 10 dts Marshal District of Columbia.

I had often, in the course of my life, in the British West India possessions, and elsewhere, seen slavery in full operation; but as I had never happened to be actually present at the sale of a negro, I resolved to witness it for once, and in a place where, at first sight, such an incident might least of all have been looked for.

I repaired to the County Court-House, accordingly, at noon, on the 15th of January, 1827, and having found my way along an empty passage, I reached a door, from which people were departing and others entering, like bees crowding in and out of a hive. This was the Court of Justice. But the matters under discussion were either so completely technical, or my head was so full of the black boy, that I could not follow what was going on.

I came again into the passage, and walked along to the front door, which nearly faces the Capitol, distant about one-third of a mile. The flags were just hoisted on the top of the building, which intimate that the Senate and the House of Representatives had assembled to discuss the affairs of this free nation—slavery amongst the rest.

The only man I could see in the passage, was a great heavy-looking black fellow, who appeared so much downcast and miserable, that I settled within myself that this must needs be no other than

Negro George, placed there for inspection. But the Deputy-marshal, who entered at this moment, holding in one hand the advertisement copied above, and in the other the writ of fieri facias alluded to therein, undeceived me, by saying that the man I pointed to was a slave indeed, though not for sale, but that I should see the other immediately.

It was soon buzzed about, I suspect, amongst the purchasers, that a suspicious-looking stranger was making enquiries respecting the boy; for a tall man, wrapped in a cloak, whom I had observed for some time cutting large junks of tobacco from a lump which he drew from his waistcoat pocket, and thrusting them into his mouth, evidently in a fidget, now came up to me, and said, with an air of affected carelessness, "Do you mean to buy the lad, sir?"

"I? Oh, no!" I exclaimed.

The tall man drew a satisfied breath on hearing this, and said, in a more natural tone, "I am glad of it, sir—for I do; and am very anxious to succeed, because I know the chap well, and have become interested in him, and he himself—ah! there he stands—wishes to become my property."

"How is that?"

"Why," said he, "you must know that his owner was indebted to me fifty dollars, and would

not or could not pay me, so I had a lien upon this boy, and the Court allowed me to have him latterly, pending the litigations. There have been three or four law-suits about him, and he has been knocking about from hand to hand ever since March, 1822—five years—and he is now to be sold to satisfy this debt."

"What says the boy to all this?" I asked.

"Come here, George," he called, and the lad joined us. "Don't be scared, my boy," said the gentleman, "there is no one going to hurt you."

"O, I am not scared," answered the boy, though he trembled all the while. He looked very ill at ease, I thought, and I soon found out the cause, in his apprehension of being purchased by a person, of whom, I suppose, he had some previous knowledge, and whose looks certainly were as little inviting as any thing could well be. He was a short, lean man, with a face quite wrinkled, not so much with age or care, as with the deep seams of intemperance. His two little eyes were placed so far back in his head, that you could not see them in profile, and when viewed in front through a pair of enormous spectacles, sparkled in a very ominous manner; while his straight, scanty, and disordered hair, formed an appropriate sky-line to the picture. I began to take considerable interest in the little fellow's fate,

and whispered to my tall companion, that I hoped he would get the boy.

After various delays, the slave was put up to auction, at the end of the passage, near which four or five persons had by this time collected. There was a good deal of laughing and talking amongst the buyers, and several jests were sported on the occasion, of which their little victim took no more notice, than if he had been a horse or a dog. In fact, he was not a chubby shining little negro, with a flat nose, thick lips, and woolly hair, but a slender, delicate-looking youth, more yellow than black, with an expression every way suitable, I thought, with the forlorn situation in which he was placed—for both his parents, and all his brothers and sisters, he told me, had been long ago sold into slavery, and sent to the Southern States—Florida or Alabama—he knew not where!

"Well, gentlemen," cried the Deputy-marshal, "will you give us a bid? Look at him—as smart a fellow as ever you saw—works like a tiger!"

One of the spectators called out, "Come, I'll say 25 dollars;" another said 35—another said 40—and at last 100 dollars were bid for him.

From the spot where I was standing, in the corner, behind the rest of the party, I could see all that was passing. I felt my pulse accelerating at each successive offer, and my cheek getting flush-

ed—for the scene was so very new that I almost fancied I was dreaming.

The interest, after a time, took a different character, to which, however, I by no means wished to give utterance, or in any shape to betray; but at this moment, the Deputy-marshal, finding the price to hang at 100 dollars, looked over to me, and said, "Do give us a bid, sir—won't you?"

My indignation was just beginning to boil over at this juncture, and I cried out, in answer to this appeal, with more asperity than good sense or good breeding,—"No! no! I thank God we don't do such things in my country!"

"And I wish, with all my heart," said the auctioneer, in a tone that made me sorry for having spoken so hastily—"I wish we did not do such things here."

"Amen!" said several voices.

The sale went on.

"We can't help it, however," observed the Marshal; "we must do our duty. 100 dollars are bid, gentlemen! One—hundred—dollars!"

The ominous personage with the deep-set eyes now called out, to my horror, and that of the poor boy, "120!"

Just at this moment a farmer, who had come from the country, and seemed pleased with the

looks of the youth, nodded to the auctioneer, and said, " 130."

My tall friend now said, " 140," which was echoed by the new comer with, " 142 !"

Upon which these two bidders having exchanged looks, walked apart for a couple of minutes, whispering something, which I did not hear. I observed the farmer nod several times, as if assenting to some compromise. They now returned, and the tall gentleman said, " I will give 143 dollars for him," while the other, though more than once appealed to by the auctioneer, spoke no more.

" 143 dollars are bid for this lad ! One hundred and forty-three dollars—once ! twice !—Are you all done, gentlemen ?—Thrice !—The lad is yours, sir,—a slave for life !"

I patted the boy on the head, wished his new master, my tall friend, all joy of his bargain, and ran off as fast as I could down one of the avenues, hoping, by change of place, to get rid of the entanglement of many unpleasant thoughts which crowded upon me during the sale ; and perhaps willing, by a good scamper over the ground, to satisfy myself of the identity of my own freedom.

I asked a gentleman afterwards, whether such things were common in that part of the country. Instead of answering my question, he picked up a

newspaper at random, and pointed out the following advertisement.

MARSHAL'S SALE.

By authority of a writ of fieri facias, issued from the Clerk's Office of the Circuit Court of this district, for the county of Washington, to me directed, I shall expose to public sale, for cash, on Monday, 31st instant, the following slaves, viz. :— Charity, Fanny, Sandy, Jerry, Nace, Harry, Jem, Bill, Anne, Lucy; Nancy and her five children, George, Penn, Mary, Francis, and Henry; Flora and her seven children, Robert, Joseph, Fanny, Mary, Jane, Patty, and Betsy; Harry; and also four mules, four carts, one carriage and harness. Seized and taken in execution, as the goods and chattels of John Threlkeld, and will be sold to satisfy a debt due by him to the Bank of the United States, use of the United States, and the Bank of the United States.

Sale to be at the dwelling of Alexander Burrows, and commence at 11 o'clock A. M.

TENCH RINGGOLD,
Marshal of the district of Columbia.

Dec 24—dts

I should be doing the inhabitants of the district of Columbia great injustice, and also leave a need-

less degree of pain on the minds of others, were I not to mention the sincere desire which is felt, and perhaps, as far as possible, acted upon, in that quarter, to remedy, if not altogether to remove, an evil apparently so inconsistent with the principles applied to every thing else in America.

The following address, copied verbatim from a Washington paper, will show how justly the subject is viewed on the spot.

"ADDRESS

"To the inhabitants of the district of Columbia.

"Fellow citizens, The society for the abolition of slavery, in the district of Columbia, recently organized in the city of Washington, for the purpose of ameliorating the condition of the coloured part of our population, of providing a remedy for the manifold evils consequent upon the existence of slavery among us, and of gradually removing the cause whence those evils originate, respectfully solicit your attention to the facts they are about to submit to your candid consideration.

"We are conscious of our inability to treat the subject as its importance demands, and should shrink from the attempt, did we not feel still more deeply the imperious necessity of some more efficient measures for the removal of an evil so per-

nicious in its consequences, so disgraceful in its character.

"The district of Columbia is subject to the especial jurisdiction of Congress. It may, therefore, reasonably be expected, that here, at least, the principles which distinguish our government from all others, would be exhibited in active operation. Such, however, is not the fact. While our Constitution asserts the broadest principles of liberty and equality, our laws permit the most cruel oppression and the most flagrant injustice. In vain do we boast of our superiority in freedom and intelligence, while this foul stain is permitted to adhere to our national character. Will foreigners credit our high-sounding declarations in favour of universal liberty, while, at the seat of our national government, nay, in the presence of our very national legislators, slavery is permitted to exist, and an internal slave trade is carried on to a very great extent? We are not sickly declaimers on this subject. We affect no squeamish sensibility. We are aware that slavery was entailed upon us in an age when the great principles of liberty and national equality were but partially defined; and in many of the States composing this confederacy, slaves constitute so large a portion of the population, that sudden emancipation, to any extent, would be very impolitic, and might endanger the peace and tran-

quillity of society, without the least benefit to any, especially without a previous improvement in their condition, fitting them for such an important change. The number of slaves in this district is yet too small to constitute any serious obstacle to their gradual emancipation; but, even here, we do not propose to interfere with the right of property —as it is called—in the present generation, but to provide for the enfranchisement of all that shall be born after such period, as the wisdom of Congress may determine upon.

"We have already mentioned the traffic in slaves carried on within the district. By this trade, parents are separated from their children, husbands from their wives, and the bonds of affection are sundered for ever. We would gladly draw a veil over the scene of wretchedness and moral depravity, which is invariably caused; but as we cannot shut our own eyes upon it, so neither can we hope that it has escaped the observation of others. But this is not all: not only slaves for life, but also many whose term of service is limited, and some who are absolutely free, are taken up as runaways, and confined in prison.

"Many instances of the second description have fallen under our observation within the past year: some of the unfortunate victims of cupidity have been rescued from their purchasers, but many have

been carried beyond the reach of benevolence before the necessary steps could be taken for their relief. Of the last kind, we shall instance the case of but one individual:—By a law of this county, all coloured persons not possessing the necessary evidences of freedom, after a confinement of some months, are sold for their prison fees, as slaves for life. Some time since, a coloured woman, a waiter in the family of a gentleman travelling through the district, was taken sick, and left here; she was soon apprehended as a runaway, sold, and carried out of the district. A short time after the sale, a letter was received from a gentleman, well known in this city, which was believed to establish the fact of her freedom. But it was too late. She had, probably, become the victim of some merciless slave dealer, and had been transported far beyond the reach of humanity or justice. Here a human being was sold into absolute and unconditional bondage, without the shadow of a trial, or the allegation of a crime! Fellow citizens, shall these things be? We anticipate with confidence your answer. We might safely rest our cause here, and appeal to your sense of duty to prevent a recurrence of such scenes as these; but, desirous that the subject be investigated in all its relations, we shall proceed to show its deleterious influence upon the welfare and prosperity of our city. And here, the first

evil consequence which claims our attention is, the prostration of industry; an effect especially visible in the labouring classes of the community, but felt in its remote ramifications in every class of society. We will endeavour, as briefly as possible, to illustrate the manner in which the effect is produced. A great portion of the labour on the different public works now in progress in this city, is performed by slaves. The free labourers are, consequently, unemployed, and during the inclement season, especially, the corporation is burdened, in part, with their support. Nor does the evil cease here. Of the slaves thus employed, many are owned by masters at a distance, who allow them a pittance from their weekly earnings to defray the expenses of their subsistence. This pittance, scarcely adequate to the bare necessaries of life, is often squandered away in the purchase of intoxicating liquors; consequently, the burden of the support of many of these labourers falls upon society at large, while the proceeds of their labour go to fill the coffers of a distant master. Besides, the system of slavery prevents many industrious and enterprising men, from various parts of our country, from settling among us, whereby the increase and prosperity of the city are greatly retarded.

"We have forborne to enlarge on the detrimental effects of slavery upon the morals of the com-

munity. They are too obvious to need illustration. We have seen one State after another providing for the gradual enfranchisement of its slaves. We have witnessed the beneficial results of these salutary measures. We have before us the brilliant example of the South American republics.

"The monitory voice of the patriots of the Revolution warns us not to defer the completion of the glorious works which they so nobly commenced. Humanity entreats, self-interest urges, religion commands us to act. Let us then, fellow citizens, obey the call. Let us place the key-stone in the arch of liberty, and demonstrate that nothing but the stern dictates of necessity prevent us from extending the blessings of liberty to every inhabitant of our happy land. We request the co-operation of the Christian, for his faith is built upon the broad foundations of justice and mercy; of the philanthropist, whose heart throbs with emotions of universal benevolence; of every lover of his country, who wishes to see her character as spotless as it is glorious, in calling the attention of the national councils to this important subject, praying such relief as they in their wisdom shall think proper to extend.

"John Chalmers, President.

"Henry Barron, Secretary."

It is a curious fact, that the circulation of the above excellent address was limited to that portion of the readers of the newspaper residing in the capital, while it was carefully removed by the editor from all the copies of the paper sent to the country.

At first I thought the Washington editor needlessly scrupulous in excluding this able document from his country circulation; but afterwards, when I had opportunities of taking a more comprehensive view of the slave question in that country, I saw how necessary it might be to use such reserve; and how very little, if at all, the negroes of the South themselves were likely to derive benefit from those hasty measures, which many well-intentioned persons in America are disposed to recommend. In the northern parts of the slave-holding portion of the Union, the case is different, as the slaves are there comparatively few in number.

But however this be elsewhere, there does appear to be a strong obligation upon Congress, the Executive, and on the inhabitants of Washington, —the seat of the national legislature,—to shake off, by some means or other, this humiliating, but just, reproach, the effects of which strike the eye even of the most indulgent stranger, and absolutely force him to notice things he would otherwise gladly pass over.

CHAPTER III.

On the 8th of January, 1828, on going to the House of Representatives, I found the members presenting resolutions of a great variety of kinds, touching every thing and any thing. I have before observed, that there is neither discipline nor organization in this body, as to the conduct of business. Consequently, any member brings forward the subject which is uppermost in his own thoughts, or which he has reason to know will be agreeable to his constituents, whose express agent he is. This indiscriminate and desultory mode of proceeding, without concert amongst themselves, leads to the repetition of innumerable proposals already before the house, or which have been discussed over and over again in preceding Congresses. Such topics, it might be thought, should have been put to rest long ago. But, alas! nothing is allowed to settle in that busy and much agitated country.

The motion which interested me most was

brought forward by a member for one of the Southern States, who, in disregard of the usual habit, came soon to his point, and spoke well upon it. The object was to direct one of the committees of the house, I forget which, to take measures for placing in a vacant niche, or compartment, in the rotunda or great hall of the Capitol, a painting of the battle of New Orleans, gained by General Jackson over the English.

The motion seemed appropriate to the day, 8th of January, the anniversary of that victory; and there is no saying how far such a proposal might have been received, had it been left purely to its own merits. But this was not the course of any American debate which it was my fortune to hear.

A gentleman who was standing by me asked what I thought of the suggestion; to which I answered, that there could be nothing more reasonable, and begged to ask in my turn, if he thought there could be any objection started in the house.

"Wait a little while," said he, "and you'll see; for," he continued, "you know the whole depends upon the presidential politics of the house?"

I said I did not know.

"Surely," he replied, "you are aware that General Jackson is a candidate for the Presidency;—now, if this motion succeeds, it will be what is

called 'a sign of the times,' and, so far as the opinion of Congress goes, will help on one side the grand object of all men's thoughts at this moment. But you will see ere long, that the Adams party will, in some way or other, entangle this question, and prevent its getting through the house. They are in a minority, it is true; but you are aware how much torment the weaker party can always give the stronger, if they set about it systematically. Indeed," he observed, "I should not be surprised if this little matter, which the good sense of the house, if it were fairly taken, would discuss and settle in ten minutes, may not, under the fiery influence of party spirit, last as many days; for there is no knowing beforehand whether a debate with us is to last a day, or a week, or even a month. So I beg you to watch the progress of this one."

The proposer of the measure concluded his speech by saying, that as there could be no doubt of its adoption, he begged to propose Mr Washington Alston, of Boston, as the artist who ought to execute the work, not only from his being the most skilful painter in the country, but from his being a native of the same State with General Jackson, namely, Tennessee.

I had no notion that the debate would run off upon this point, because the gentleman named

was, beyond all question, the best artist in America. Besides which, there was some address, I was told, in having pointed out an artist residing in the North, to perform the service; a degree of consideration which it was thought would conciliate the members from that quarter, who were mostly in favour of Mr Adams.

These small shot, however, failed to hit their mark, as will be seen by the following observations of a gentleman from one of the Eastern States, which I extract from the debate, as given in the National Intelligencer, chiefly to show their rambling style of discussion.

" He said he should not have risen, had not the resolution moved by the honourable gentleman from South Carolina designated the name of the artist to be employed. When it was recollected that Mr Trumbull, the gentleman who had executed the paintings now in the Rotundo, was a native of the State which he represented on that floor, he trusted his honourable friend would excuse him if he ventured to suggest, that no course ought to be pursued, in this stage of the business, which went to exclude the employment of that venerable and patriotic individual in executing any paintings that might be ordered. If the artist to whom the gentleman had alluded, was a native of the same State with the hero of our second war,

the artist he himself had named had been an actor in his own person in the war of the Revolution. He had been a prisoner, and had suffered severely in that contest; and he must be permitted to say, that great injustice had been done him, from the manner in which his paintings had at first been displayed. They were placed in a small and obscure room, beneath our feet, and the artist had the mortification to know, that the most unkind and most unfeeling strictures had there been passed upon them, in consequence of this their disadvantageous location. His fame had suffered, his feelings had suffered, and all his friends who knew the circumstances, had suffered with him. It was with pride and pleasure, he said, that he had witnessed their removal to a situation more worthy of their excellence, and he had witnessed the tears of joy glistening in his venerable eyes, under the consciousness that, at last, justice had been done him. He admitted, very willingly, the high merit of Mr Alston; but, if Congress should conclude, in this matter, to depart from the class of our revolutionary worthies, there were other native artists, besides Mr Alston, who would desire not to be precluded from a chance of employment. He therefore moved the following amendment,—to strike out the name of 'Washington Alston,' and to insert the words, 'some suitable artist.'"

The debate for some time turned on the merits of this amendment, though it wandered every now and then into the presidential question, and its innumerable ramifications, many of which were nearly unintelligible to a stranger. At length another Eastern State member rose, and cast amongst the disputants a new apple of discord, or rather a new sort of mystification and discursive eloquence. He said, " that while he did not refuse to do homage to the great and acknowledged merit of Mr Alston, he wished to suggest a further amendment of the resolution, which was,—' that it might be made to embrace the battles of Bunker's Hill, Monmouth, Prince Town, and the attack on Quebec.' "

This proposal, whether it were seriously intended for the consideration of the House or not, was followed by one obviously meant as a bitter jest against one of the parties in the House. In the State for which the member who spoke last was the representative, it appears there had been, during the late war with England, a disposition expressed by some persons for opening pacific negotiations with the enemy, or in some way thwarting the measures of Government. A meeting, known by the name of the Hartford Convention, was accordingly assembled, at the very moment of the battle of New Orleans. The gentleman who

now rose, therefore, proposed to amend the amended amendment, by moving, that " another painting be placed alongside that of the victory of New Orleans, representing this meeting, which was in full session at the same time."

Several members now made speeches, and most of them so entirely wide of the mark, that, I venture to say, any one coming into the House, and listening for half an hour, would not have been able to form a probable conjecture as to the real nature of the topic under discussion.

Things were at last getting very heavy, when a little more spirit was thrown into the debate, by some one making a proposal for a further extension of the honours proposed. " I have often thought," said one of the gentlemen who addressed the House, " that our naval victories were entitled to some notice, as well as the military exploits of the army, and that Congress could not better occupy several of the vacant panels in the Rotundo, than by filling them with some of the chivalrous triumphs of the navy, that had conferred so much honour and glory on the country. I hope, therefore, the navy will not be altogether forgotten on this occasion, and that the House will agree to adopt an amendment I shall offer, in the following words: ' That the resolution embrace such of the victories achieved by the navy of the

United States, as in the opinion of Congress should be selected for national commemoration.' "

I naturally felt some professional interest in this part of the debate, and was therefore greatly disappointed when a member got up and proposed an adjournment, although it was only two o'clock. The motion was lost—Ayes 91; Noes 92. But the hour allotted for the consideration of resolutions having expired, it was necessary, before resuming the debate, to move that the rule restricting this time, be for this day suspended. The question being taken, the Ayes were 122, the Noes 76; and as the majority did not amount to two-thirds, the motion was lost, and the House adjourned.

The same subject was taken up next day at noon, and discussed for four hours; during which time several new amendments were proposed, including all the important battles that had been fought in that country, and many of which I had never heard the names before. The object of the members on both sides seemed to be merely to thwart, by every means, the wishes of their political antagonists, and to wear one another out by persevering opposition. This tenacity of purpose on trifles, is a game which can be played by any one, and at all times, as there is never a want of opportunity for provocation. Indeed, every man who has had

to transact real business, must have found that, even when both parties really wish to have a matter settled, there must generally be some compromise,—some mutual concession,—something of what is familiarly called 'giving and taking,' in order to smooth away the difficulties incident to the very nature of our being, and the boundless complication in our interests. But when a deliberative body come to discuss a question in a spirit of avowed misunderstanding, without the smallest wish to agree, the result, as far as actual work is concerned, may easily be conceived. Yet I defy any imagination, however active, to form a just conception of the rambling and irritating nature of a debate in Congress, without actually attending the House of Representatives.

I have already adverted to the method used to evade the real point at issue by a file of amendments, and by long-winded speeches relating to every thing on earth but the point at issue. On the second day of this picture debate, however, I saw another plan of operations brought into play, and certainly one the most wasteful of time that I ever heard of in any country.

When the votes of the House are to be taken, the Speaker rises and says, "Such and such is the motion before the House; those who are of opinion that it should be carried will please to say,

Aye; those of the contrary opinion will say, No." Of course, in the great majority of cases he can tell easily enough by the ear alone which way the vote is; and he then says, "The Ayes have it," or, "The Noes have it," just as the Speaker does in the House of Commons. If this decision be disputed, the House does not divide, or separate, but the Speaker requests the Ayes to rise. He then counts them, and takes a note of their numbers; then does the same with the Noes. This supplies the place of a division, and seems a more expeditious method. But if these numbers, as reported by the Speaker, be disputed by any member, he may move that the Yeas and Nays shall be taken down. This is a long and most tiresome process. The clerk calls over the names of the whole House, one by one, while the members present answer Aye or No. The names of those who are absent are called over twice; and the whole ceremony never occupies less than a quarter of an hour, and frequently extended, when I was present, to eighteen minutes.

On the day I speak of, this irksome ceremony was repeated no less than six times, and thus very nearly half of their day was entirely lost, for the meeting seldom lasted longer than from twelve to three, or four. The object of this proceeding was to tire one another as much as possible by delay,

and by showing that, as no agreement or compromise would be agreed to, it was useless to persevere. Lists of these divisions were always given in the papers, so that the public were made constantly aware how each member voted; and so far the measure was constitutional and useful, but the ceremony itself was a sad waste of time.

Eventually the original motion came to be considered, after all the amendments had been demolished one after another. It likewise was lost by 103 against 98, which I was surprised at, as the Jackson party, the opposition, who brought it forward, had a clear majority in the House. But the subject had been so completely mystified and overloaded with extraneous matter during the debate, that there was no possibility of disentangling it from these burdens; and their darling objects, procrastination and speech-making, being accomplished, the original point, which went to make it a pure electioneering question, was soon entirely lost sight of.

I cannot help mentioning, as a highly characteristic circumstance in these discussions, that there was hardly one speech uttered in the House in the course of this debate, or in others which I heard, wherein the orator did not contrive, adroitly or clumsily, to drag in some abuse of England. It might almost have been thought,

from the uniformity of this sneering habit, that there was some express form of the House by which members were bound, at least once in every speech, and as much oftener as they pleased, to take a passing fling at the poor Old Country. At all events, whether systematically, or as a mere matter of taste and habit, this custom was so constantly observed by all parties indiscriminately, that, I believe, I must qualify what I stated above as to there being no point of common agreement in the House, since on this sole head I must do the members of Congress the justice to say, they were consistent and pretty nearly unanimous. There was very seldom any thing ill-natured, it is true, in the use of these pop-guns. Sometimes they were sharp enough in sound, and often pungent likewise; but, generally speaking, they were very flat both in their report and in their effect; yet they were always very amusing to us, and came in exceedingly well as part of the play.

Seriously, however, this eternal vituperation of England and every thing belonging to us, quite as a matter of course, fully justifies a traveller—especially an English traveller—in speaking of them, and their methods of proceeding, with no other reserves than such as are due to the feelings of individuals. I trust I have not exceeded these limits. At all events, collectively or singly, I am

sure the members of Congress cannot be displeased at my selecting the following specimen of American eloquence.

"When the first battle was fought between an American and a British frigate, the action might be said to be big with the fate, if not of Empires, at least of Sovereign States. The whole world were spectators of the combat. The issue decided the question, whether Great Britain was to continue the undisputed empress of the sea, or whether the trident was to be ravished from her hands, and those laurels which had so long bloomed on her brow, were to be transferred to the possession of a new power. The issue was, to us, great and truly glorious. By it we became the conquerors of the conquerors of the world, and this, too, on that very element which they had hitherto considered as so peculiarly the element of their glory. Not only did they consider themselves as our acknowledged superiors, but they remarked with taunt and ridicule on the rashness of an American frigate presuming to engage a British vessel, having any thing like an equality of force. The consequences of this battle none could forget. It was followed by a long train of glory, as bright as ever illumined the annals of a nation."

Upon this I have to remark, that if the English, antecedent to the war, did use the taunts and ridi-

cule ascribed to them, nothing could be in worse taste. But there are various ways of viewing every question, and as it happens that there was only one action during the war between frigates 'having any thing like an equality of force,' the truth of those taunts, as far as that branch of the question is concerned, remains pretty nearly where it was.

The renown which the Americans gained by their successes, both by land and sea, accomplished for them a very high object. It taught other nations—and ourselves amongst the rest—to respect their strength more than they had previously been in the habit of doing. With this important result —consistently with their own true glory—they should remain contented, for it cannot be the wish, or the real interest of England, or of any other country, to make this feeling of respect less. But there can be no purpose served, except mutual irritation, by spouting forth these national sarcasms, and dwelling with endless pertinacity on old quarrels, which have long been forgotten on our side of the Atlantic.

Of one thing, at all events, I think I may safely assure the Americans. We grudge them none of their laurels fairly won—even from ourselves. But they should always recollect, that if they claim more than they are entitled to—one iota more than strict facts warrant—even the meed which otherwise

would be justly their due, will be withheld, not only by their late antagonists, but by the other nations of Europe, who—together with all well-informed Americans—know perfectly well how the facts stand.

But I am forgetting the debate.—The extract which follows came from a less fiery district of the country, and, as it is much more kind and friendly, I cheerfully insert it.

"I ask," said the orator—who was against the picture—"I ask if there is any man here who feels his bosom swell and his heart glow at the recollection of the victory at New Orleans, who does not at the same time feel his exultation checked by a pang, at the thought that such a battle, with all its attendant carnage and woe, was fought by two nations, who were at that moment at peace: that the contest, glorious as it might be, was a mere mistake: that it happened solely from the tardy pace at which intelligence had unavoidably to pass from the point of pacification to the extremity of this Republic? The Treaty of Ghent was signed on the 24th of December, 1814, and if the angel which brought the news of peace across the ocean could have hastened his flight but seventeen days, this bloodshed, on the 8th of January, 1815, might have been spared. And who is there that does not regret that all this glory had not been won

while the nations were yet in the career of full and open hostility? Not so with the battle of Erie, —that immortal victory," &c. &c.

The following passage in the speech of a gentleman, who wished to have a picture painted of the battle of Bennington, I heard uttered with a degree of gravity only to be equalled by that of the House who listened to it.

"This action," he exclaimed, "may not have been attended with all the pomp and circumstance of speeches and proclamations that have accompanied some other occasions: for the only proclamation of the commander—the fearless Stark—was, 'There is the enemy!' His only speech, 'We will beat them, or, this night, Mary Stark is a widow!!'"

After this brief episode of two days, the House were engaged almost exclusively with discussions as to some remuneration for the slave carried off during the war. The debate upon this subject, it will be remembered, commenced on the 4th of January. It continued during most days of every week, for great part of the month, and was at times very animated. On the 22d, just eighteen days after the subject was brought forward, I found the House of Representatives as hard at it as ever, and still further from any agreement than when they started, because innumerable points of differ-

ence were struck out, of which nobody could have had any suspicion, at least of which I had not the remotest conception when the debate began.

I was at first sorry to learn, from experienced members of the House, that this one subject would probably engross their whole attention for three weeks at least. But after a time, I saw there was no occasion to regret this circumstance, for few members even pretended to stick to the point under discussion, in spite of the reiterated exertions of the Speaker. The consequence was, that almost every subject upon which a stranger could have wished to hear the opinions of Congress expressed, was brought in at some moment or other during this interminable debate.

After a time, I became acquainted with the names and politics of many of the principal members, and, by repeated conversations with them, before and after, and even during the sitting of the House, acquired some knowledge of the springs of political action, of which, in the first instance, I had merely seen the final movements. The question of slaves being property or not—the tariff of duties for the protection of manufactures—the doctrine of State rights—that of internal improvements—and a great many others, all passed in review, and were more or less dwelt upon; every one of these subjects, however, landed in the presidential ques-

tion, in a manner which it is impossible to describe, for I know of nothing to compare it with elsewhere. In the meanwhile, very little real business was effected, I mean in open Congress, and before the public. The executive committees of the legislature—as they may be called with perfect truth, in spite of the portentous anomaly in government which the term implies—did what was absolutely necessary for the progress of those parts of the public business which could not possibly be allowed to stand still. But, after all, the very minimum of real work, as far as I could see or hear, was the result.

The following extract from an American paper, dated Washington, 2d April, 1828, more than two months after the time I am speaking of, will show that the same system was continued:—

"Neither house of Congress met on Saturday. Four months have elapsed since the session commenced, and we are not able to state a single measure of any real national importance that has thus far been accomplished. In the early part of the session, some of the members talked frequently of shutting out of their proceedings and discussions all topics that might have an electioneering aspect, and of going on as rapidly as possible with the public business, in order that the session might be a short one. This course would certainly have

been both wise and profitable, and we can only regret it was not pursued. At present we see very little prospect, even at this late hour, of a speedy adjournment. Almost every subject is seized hold of for the purposes of party effect, and whatever may be the title of a bill, or the professed object of a resolution, it is almost invariably turned to a controversy relating to the Presidential election. Reports of committees are framed with this view, and, in short, there appears to be little else attended to, than the question, who shall be the next chief magistrate of the nation? We do not see that there is any remedy for this evil. It would seem, from what has passed before us for two or three years past, that we must expect hereafter to find the political concerns of the country all made subservient to intrigue and electioneering."

CHAPTER IV.

On the 31st of January, 1828, we left Washington, and glided down the muddy Potomac in the steam-boat, cutting our way through myriads of canvass-back ducks, which literally blackened the surface of the water, till our paddles set them up. When on the wing, their colour appeared of a brownish white, and thence their name has been taken. These birds are justly esteemed a great delicacy in America, though quite unlike the wild duck of other countries, their flesh resembling more that of a hare than any thing else, both in taste and appearance, but richer, and of a higher flavour.

We wished to have called at Mount Vernon, formerly the residence of General Washington, but these inexorable steam-boats, like time and tide, wait for no man. After a pleasant trip, we landed at some scattered houses in the Potomac creek, and were conveyed from thence in stage coaches, over

short steep hills, along roads cut to pieces by carriage wheels and torrents of rain. Any other vehicle, than a stout American stage, must have been shaken to atoms.

We reached Fredericksburg in good time to walk round that pretty little town. It was really comfortable to get into a place where the eye could rest here and there on a house above a year old, or which did not look as if it were just out of the carpenter's shop. I absolutely saw in Fredericksburg two houses with some green moss upon the roof. The streets, too, were completed, and the dwellings of the inhabitants within gun-shot of one another, which was sociable after Washington.

Our intention was to have taken an extra next day to Richmond, the capital of Virginia; but as no carriages were to be hired, we were obliged to take places in the regular stage, which was appointed to start at two in the morning. We looked very blank upon hearing of this early hour; but the obliging stage proprietor, after considering the matter, said, "Well! if it be so disagreeable to the ladies to start at two, suppose we make it five? only, mind, it will be late before you get to Richmond, as the distance is 66 miles."

The expense of travelling in the stage amounted to five dollars for each person, or about fourpence a-mile, meals not included. From Washington

to Fredericksburg, 60 miles of which were by steam, and nine by land, the expense for the whole of our party was thirteen dollars and three quarters, or about one pound sterling each, which is very nearly threepence halfpenny a-mile; but this included the cost of a substantial breakfast and dinner.

We were up next morning by half-past four, and I was sorry to find that the prediction of a weather-wise looking gentleman of the day before, had proved true. I had asked him what he thought of it. "I think," said he, "it looks very like falling weather;" and so it proved, for when the shutters were opened, the sky appeared dark, and was drifting with heavy clouds. Rain, indeed, is amongst the greatest of all plagues on a journey. Your feet get wet; your clothes become plastered with mud from the wheel; the trunks—generally placed with mischievous perversity on their edge—drink in half a gallon of water a-piece; the gentlemen's coats and boots steam in the confined coach; the horses are draggled and chafed by the traces; the driver gets his neckcloth saturated with moisture; —while every body's temper is tried, and found wanting!

Our party consisted of a lady, three gentlemen, and a boy, besides our own number. We were somewhat squeezed, though one of the nine was

our little girl; if any other passengers had offered themselves, we should have been miserably jammed up. In order to prevent this occurring, I stepped out at the first stage, and paid for the remaining place. Generally speaking, we found it a great saving of fatigue, and consequently of expense, in the long run, to engage two whole seats, or six places for ourselves, which left us sufficient room.

Two of the gentlemen, our fellow passengers, were Virginian planters or farmers, very intelligent persons, who gave us much information that was quite new. We stopped at ten different houses during the seventeen weary hours which it cost us to make out the 66 miles, and at each of these places our two friends got out, as they told us, to take a glass of mint julap—which I learnt from them was a species of dram. Their heads, I think, must have been harder than those of the rest of the world, as they did not approach to tipsiness, nearer than a slight indistinctness in the articulation of their words, and somewhat more earnestness in argument, with a considerably larger allowance of tobacco.

I never saw men more anxious than the gentlemen in these American stages always were to accommodate the ladies, by changing places, or making any arrangements that were possible. On this occasion, therefore, although the way was long,

and rugged, and at some places not a little dangerous, we contrived, upon the whole, to make our day's journey, at the rate of four miles an hour, pleasantly enough. A smart walker might have performed it nearly as well in the same time!

The introductory letters which we brought to Richmond, soon placed us in the hands of efficient and friendly persons, who gave us the means of seeing every thing to advantage. After a long sleep to repair the fatigues of the Virginian roads, proverbial for badness, even in America, we visited the Capitol, a building admirably placed on a projecting ridge or bank, overhanging the town. It is a handsome edifice, built of brick, and plastered. In rear of it stands the court-house, which is constructed of stone, though, like the Capitol at Washington, it has been disfigured by being painted—a strange perversion of taste!

The legislature were in session, and I visited both Houses. The Senate Chamber was a neat small apartment, like a drawing-room. But the House of Representatives did not appear to have been washed or swept since the Revolution. I suppose, that what is everybody's business, is nobody's, there, as elsewhere. The rotation, or annual change of members, goes on in Virginia, as well as in the other States; and this may be the reason why things which strike the eye of a stranger with so much

surprise, are considered by them as trifles, to be put up with for a time. Neither would they be fit objects of criticism for a passing observer, were they merely accidental and contingent, instead of being characteristic.

The legislature in Virginia, called the General Assembly, is composed like that of the other States, of a Senate and House of Delegates. The Senate consists of twenty-four members chosen for four years, by districts. One-fourth of these vacate their seats in rotation, each year. Every Senator must be actually a resident within the district, and also be a freeholder. The Representatives are chosen annually; two from each county, and one from such cities, towns, and boroughs, as are entitled to representation under their charters, at the formation of the Constitution in 1776; or have been allowed a representative since, pursuant to the principles of the Constitution. They also must be freeholders actually residing in the county for which they are chosen. The governor is chosen annually by joint ballot of both Houses, and can hold the office but three years in seven. He is assisted by a Privy Council of eight members, chosen in like manner, either from their own members, or from the people at large; two of the members are removed by joint ballot of both houses of assembly every three years, and these are ineli-

gible for the three next years; two new privy councillors being elected to supply their places. The right of suffrage in Virginia belongs to none but freeholders.

I believe Virginia is the only State in the Union where a freehold qualification is required in the voters; and I was glad to hear many gentlemen of that State not only express their pride in this circumstance, but declare that the effect was to send a higher and more useful class of men into public life.

Just at the period of my visit, however, a Convention was proposed, and has since met, the object of which, if I understood it correctly, was not so much to extend the right of suffrage, as to equalise the distribution of the freehold votes. But I observed in many parts of that State so strong a tendency to extend the right of voting, that I suspect, in spite of the sincere wishes of the wealthier class of inhabitants, who are generally and wisely very averse to any such change, the numerical popular voice will be an overmatch even for the Virginian aristocracy, and that universal suffrage will soon be established there, as it has been every where else in America.

In walking round the Capitol at Richmond, in the course of the morning, my eyes were struck with the unusual sight of a sentinel marching in

front of the building, with his musket on his shoulder. "Bless me!" I exclaimed, "has your legislature a guard of honour?—that is something new."

"Oh, no, no!" cried my companion, "that soldier is one of the guard stationed near the Capitol;—there are the barracks."

"I do not yet understand."

"It is necessary," he continued, "or at all events it is customary in these States to have a small guard always under arms;—there are only fifty men here. It is in consequence of the nature of our coloured population; but is done more as a preventive check than any thing else—it keeps all thoughts of insurrection out of the heads of the slaves, and so gives confidence to those persons amongst us who may be timorous. But in reality, there is no cause for alarm, as it is sixteen years since such a thing was attempted here, and the blacks have become more and more sensible every day of their want of power."

On enquiring further into these matters, I learnt that there was in all these towns a vigorous and active police, whose rule is not to take for granted that any thing is secure which vigilance can watch. No negro, for example, is allowed to be out of doors after sunset, without a written pass from his master explaining the nature of his errand. If, during

his absence from home, he be found wandering from the proper line of his message, he is speedily taken up and corrected accordingly.

I had many opportunities of investigating the slavery question, during my stay in Virginia, for I always found the planters in that State, and I may add in every other, extremely fair and communicative; and so far from their being touchy or prone to take offence when talked to upon this subject, as I had often been told they were, they seemed to me quite willing to discuss it frankly. The essential impediment, however, which I found in the way of getting at the truth, on this and many other subjects, consisted less in any reserve on the part of the natives, than in the difficulty I found in removing the shell or husk of prejudice which surrounded my own mind, and gave me a constant desire to distort my observation, in order that I might see things in the particular light under which I had preconceived they ought to be viewed.

On the slavery question, this difficulty is perhaps greater than on most others; for there our feelings enter into contest so often with the judgment, that sober reason, political necessity, established usage, and so forth, have sometimes no fair play.

My sincere wish, however, even when I commenced these researches, undoubtedly was to meet

this great topic as boldly and fairly as possible, by giving due weight to all I should hear on both sides. In the end I hope I have done so; though at first nothing can be conceived more difficult. A stranger, quite unaccustomed to the actual presence of slavery, is naturally very shy of admitting any thing, even to himself, which shall look like approving of the principle of such degradation of any part of his species; and it requires considerable time, and a knowledge of many details, before he can be sure that he is doing the subject justice. Ignorance, unfortunately, is so apt to usurp the place of knowledge, that, by a strange perversity, fresh information often appears unnecessary, and is not unfrequently resisted as intrusive.

The subject was, at all events, full of interest and novelty, and contributed, along with many other circumstances at this stage of our journey, to make us feel that we were verging towards the region of the tropics. Tobacco, cotton, and rice fields, met our eyes, by the road side, everywhere. The mildness of the climate, too, the colour of the population, and the tone of their voices, were all so characteristic of countries quite dissimilar from those we had left, that almost for the first time we felt fairly on our travels.

On the 4th of February, I accompanied a gentleman to his plantation some miles out of town

on the banks of James's river, where I had a most agreeable and advantageous opportunity of seeing the arrangements on a well managed estate, the working of several coal-pits, and the operations along the line of a magnificent canal, recently formed in order to improve the internal communications of Virginia, at a point where the river, by passing over rapids, is rendered unnavigable.

What interested me most, however, was a party of a dozen negroes, squatted on the floor of a tobacco house. They were placed, men, women, and children, in a circle, drawing the leaves from the stalk. In the centre stood two men, who, on receiving the leaves from the pickers, distributed them in heaps according to their quality. There seem to be three qualities of tobacco. The lower leaves, or those which touch the ground, are liable to get dirty and torn, but on the higher parts of the same stalk, two different sorts of leaves are found, one yellow, and one brown. These being carefully separated, and made up into little bunches, somewhat thicker than a man's thumb, are tied round with a thong, formed out of the leaf itself. The bunches are then slung, in pairs, across bars of wood, stretching from side to side of the roof, not unlike herrings in a drying house. In the course of time, the house becomes so completely filled with these bars, carrying bunches of tobacco, that there is barely left

space enough for a man to creep under them to trim the fires, kept constantly burning on the mud floor to dry the leaves.

The next process is to pack it into the large hogsheads which every one has seen before the door of a tobacconist's shop. This operation is performed by means of long levers worked by hand, which force it into a compact mass.

The slaves looked wonderfully cheerful and healthy, and though scantily clad, were not unseasonably so, for the air was quite mild, notwithstanding it was now the depth of winter. Of 110 slaves on this plantation, I was told not one, old or young, knew how to read or write.

In the evening, we were invited to a party where we met many very agreeable people, every one, as usual, more kind to us than another, and all so anxious to be useful, that I regretted exceedingly the necessity of running away from such obliging friends. But I had the greatest curiosity to see the Delaware, a line-of-battle ship, lying ready for sea in Hampton roads in the Chesapeake; and having just received information from Washington that she was to sail in a few days, I was obliged to cut and run from the pleasant society of Richmond, though much against my inclination.

Accordingly, on the 6th of February, we took to the steam-boat at eight o'clock, in as rainy and

foggy a morning as ever interfered with the picturesque, and proceeded down James's river at a great rate. By and by, however, the sky cleared up, and the breeze having lulled itself almost into a calm, left us in full possession of a delightful day, with only an occasional pleasant air of wind, across the fertile plantations lying on the south side of this pretty river.

At the distance of about fifty or sixty miles from Richmond, we came abreast of James's Town, the first place settled by the English in that part of America which now forms the United States. This was in 1608, two hundred and twenty-one years ago. It has long since been abandoned in consequence of the unhealthiness of the situation, and nothing is now left but the remains of an old church. There was something quite strange to our eyes in the sight of an American ruin! I was still more struck by the appearance of many fine-looking mansions, formerly the country houses of the great landed proprietors, the old aristocracy of Virginia, but now the residence of small farmers or planters, by whom the property has been bought, from time to time, as it came piecemeal into the market, since the law of primogeniture, and the practice of entails, were swept away by the tide of modern improvement, as it is called. From these and other causes, the accumulation of large properties has

been entirely prevented, even in that State where the value of these unequal divisions of property is certainly better known than any where else in the country. Unfortunately, this conviction is confined to the minority in numbers; so that if universal suffrage be introduced, it will cease to exist altogether.

In the evening we reached the town of Norfolk, after a voyage of 150 miles in the steam-boat. The whole expense for our party, which consisted of three grown up persons and one child, was $12\frac{1}{2}$ dollars, breakfast, dinner, and tea included. Thus we travelled for very little more than two cents, or about one penny a mile.

On the 7th of February, I visited the navy yard at Gosport, on the left bank of the Elizabeth river, nearly opposite to the town of Norfolk, which stands on the right or eastern side of that stream. The term dock yard is used amongst us, whether there be docks in the establishment or not; but the Americans, with more propriety of language, perhaps, have a term—navy yard—which includes all that is essential, and excludes all that is not so. A change, however, will, ere long, be necessary in this respect, as a superb dock is actually in progress at Gosport. The length of the bottom, from the inner or foremost block, to that which is nearest the gates, is to be 206 feet, besides 50 feet

of spare room—enough to hold a smaller vessel if required. The width of the dock at top, is to be 86 feet. As the tide rises and falls only about 3 or 4 feet, the water must be pumped out by steam-engines. This dock, which will be completed, probably, in about three years, is in all respects similar to that forming at Charlestown, near Boston, which is much further advanced.

On the stocks, there was a line-of-battle ship called the New York 74, a ninety gun ship, and the St Lawrence 44, of sixty guns. The frigate is round sterned, and both are built exclusively of live oak, in a compact and apparently skilful manner.

It occurred to me, when looking at these large ships, that there was no good policy in building such an expensive class of vessels; for other nations would, of course, profit by past experience, and avoid unequal matches in future.

"That is very true," said an American naval officer, who was present when I made this observation, "but we calculate in this way. In the event of a war with you or with France, for instance, it may happen that our enemy will have many times our number of ships such as these, but he will have a still greater proportion of smaller ships. If one of our frigates should chance to meet with one of yours of the same large class, she must, of course, take her chance, and we trust she will

play her part as becomes her. But as the greater number of your ships are small ones, of the old sort, the chances are more in favour of our meeting them; and if we do, the balance will tell on our side. Thus, in either way, we hope to preserve the advantage we have already gained."

After inspecting the dock yard at Gosport from end to end, we returned to Norfolk in a six oared gig, most kindly placed at our service by the captain of the Delaware, and by dint of smart rowing, we just caught the steam-boat starting for Old Point Comfort. The wind being fair, we proceeded down the Chesapeake merrily enough, and soon reached Hampton roads, where the above-mentioned ship was lying at anchor, ready for sea. The steam-boat was luffed up, under the Delaware's stern, to receive two boats, which were instantly sent from the ship to take out some of the passengers. Besides these, however, great bundles of cabbages, boxes full of eggs, eight or ten quarters of fresh beef, and about a dozen baskets of clothes from the washing, were hastily pitched into the boats. Tailors and tavern keepers, with their well-cursed bills, were there also, mixed up with sailors' wives coming to take leave, bales of pursers' slops, barrels of flour, poultry, butter, and cheese; altogether forming such a miserable mass of confusion, as brought forcibly to my recollection the end-

less worry in which a ship of war, about to sail for a foreign station, is sure to be kept, day and night, till she starts—though her sailing be deferred for a month beyond the time first named. The wonder is, how she ever manages to stow away half of the countless multitude of things which are poured in upon her!

Old Point Comfort, which we reached in time for dinner, is a low, sandy point, which juts out in a direction nearly south, at the junction of the Chesapeake bay on the east, with Hampton roads on the west, at the extreme end of the promontory or neck of land which separates James's river from York river. The excellent anchorage of Hampton roads is formed by three streams, the Elizabeth, the James, and the Nansemond rivers; and though it is filled with shoals caused by the deposits from these united floods, there is still clear space enough to render it a place of great importance as a naval station. Heretofore, it has been left quite defenceless, but the American government having lately included it in their extensive list of sea-coast fortifications now in progress, all was bustle and advancement.

Next day, the 8th of February, I walked over Fortress Monroe—which stands on Old Point Comfort—in company with the commanding officer, and the chief engineer. This fort, when completed,

is to mount 340 guns, and will require a garrison of 5000 men to defend it properly. I was told that it covers an area of sixty acres, the intention being to make it a depot for military stores, as well as a rallying point for the militia and other troops, in the event of a threatened invasion.

The work itself appears to be as regular as the nature of the ground, and the objects in view, will admit of; while every branch of it is finished with great neatness and beauty. The parts of the fortification which are intended to command Hampton Roads, as well as those which look across the passage by which a hostile fleet must enter, have a double tier of heavy guns, the lower one being casemated. On the bastion opposite to the entrance from Lynhaven Bay, however, there is only a single tier of guns, en barbette; but to supply the place of the lower tier, a counterguard is placed beyond the ditch, so as to shield the bastion. The object of these arrangements I take to be this:—If the bastion in question were not thus masked, an advancing fleet might succeed in demolishing the defences at this place, and so pass on to Hampton Roads. Or the fort itself might be assaulted at such an exposed point, if the wall were sufficiently beaten down by the enemy's ships. But as matters now stand this would be much more difficult, since the outwork above de-

scribed, and standing on the glacis, must first be destroyed by the fleet coming in, and even then, its ruins, supposing it to be effectually demolished, would still, I imagine, act as a screen to the bastion; or at least, to the lower part of the wall, and thus prevent a breach being made. The only method, indeed, of effecting this object now, would be by making a lodgement in the ruins of the counterguard; but this would be no easy operation, from the ground on which it is placed being commanded by the flanks of the collateral bastions.

From the other side, the approach would be equally troublesome. Old Point Comfort, now entirely covered by Fortress Monroe, is joined to the mainland by a narrow sandy neck, which is not only overlooked by the guns of the principal fort, but is rendered still more inaccessible by a formidable redoubt, thrown forward from the north-west bastion, the guns of which would require to be silenced before the trenches of the besiegers could be advanced sufficiently far along the isthmus or neck of land, to be within breaching distance of the body of the place. About one-third of the whole Fort was completed when I saw it, and ready for the guns, but it was far above ground along the whole circuit.

At the distance of one mile, in a direction very nearly due south, from Old Point Comfort, on the

other side of the entrance, to Hampton Roads, a second battery was in progress. Originally there was nothing there to work upon, but a mud bank, called the Rip Raps Shoal, on which there were formerly seventeen feet of water. By tumbling in great stones, in the manner adopted at the Plymouth Breakwater, the bottom has been gradually raised. When I examined it, the masonry was six or seven feet above the surface. On this artificial island, a powerful battery, mounting 260 heavy guns, is to be placed, the fire from which will cross that of the larger fort, and make it rather hot work for an intruder.

In the course of the same morning we visited the Delaware, 74, lying fully equipped and all ready for sea, in Hampton Roads. Although not a very handsome ship, she is certainly a fine man-of-war, and apparently in good order. There were mounted, when I went on board, thirty-two long guns on the lower deck—42 pounders. On the main deck, thirty-two guns—32 pounders. On the forecastle and quarter deck, twenty-eight—42 pound carronades; in all, ninety-two guns. Eight ports were left unoccupied on the upper deck, so that she may be said to be pierced for 100 guns.

The crew of the Delaware, as I understood from the officers, was 777, including 100 marines. But 850 persons were mustered in all; the extra num-

ber being, I believe, supernumeraries for other ships in the Mediterranean.

I went over the decks, passed round the wings, through the store-rooms, and into all parts of the ship. Every thing was in good, man-of-war-like order, clean and well arranged, and really surprising, when it is considered that she had been little more than two months in commission.

The discipline, from all I could see or hear on board this ship, and in other quarters, from naval officers and persons who had opportunities of knowing, is effective, but somewhat rigid; though, probably, not more severe than is indispensably necessary.

The question, as to the power of the Americans to fit out and man a fleet at the commencement of a war, is one I have heard often discussed in that country. Some Americans think there would be no difficulty whatever, others say it would be impossible without impressment, and some contend that if the system of privateering could be done away with by mutual agreement amongst the belligerents, there would be a superabundance of seamen for the American fleet, as soon as the commerce of the country was materially impeded, which is a contingency that must, of course, be contemplated.

My own opinion is, that the degree of facility of manning their fleet, would depend in a great mea-

sure upon the popularity of the war. If the quarrel were of such a nature as to include in its motives the passions of the country generally, the adequate funds might perhaps be collected in the first instance, and a fleet of line-of-battle ships might, in all probability, be pushed to sea on the spur of the moment. These ships would not, and perhaps could not, be efficiently manned with able seamen, but if two or three hundred could be got on board each, the remainder of the crew might be made up of what we should call landsmen, but who are a very different class of men in America—tall, strapping, resolute fellows, accustomed to the oar, and to spend half their lives on the enormous rivers which intersect their country in all directions. These men are, moreover, quite familiar with the smell of gunpowder—have a rifle always in their hands —are expert, enterprising, and always ready to acquire, though only to a certain extent, any kind of new knowledge. Such persons, I have no doubt, in the event of a popular war, might be induced by high bribes, to go on board ship for a time, as a sort of 'lark.' The stern discipline and restraints of their navy, however, would be so very repugnant to their ordinary feelings, that although their patriotism might, and I daresay would, carry them through with it for a time, under the management of the able officers now belonging to the

American navy, it would be utterly hopeless to convert them into real seamen.

If success attended the first dash, its momentum might carry them on, and the reaction on the country, of which we have already had some experience, would give the struggle fresh spirit, and, consequently, their enemies more trouble. But, in process of time, the universal detestation of taxes which prevails in the country, and the absence of extensive financial arrangements prepared in that view, would clog the machinery of any offensive operations on a great scale; after which, the first reverse would be the signal for a diminution of sacrifices for an object not generally esteemed consistent with the policy of the country—I mean offensive warfare. The insatiable love of change, and rambling spirit of enterprise, which, on the first supposition, brought people from the rivers and creeks of the back-woods to man the ships, would now make them wish to go home again—beyond the reach of the painful routine of naval duties. Impressment would then be the only resource for keeping a fleet at sea. But how far this important engine—in cheerful submission to which every British seaman is bred up, as a matter of known risk, and almost of duty to his country—could be made available in America, where centuries of habit have not made it an integral part

of the calculations of every man who goes afloat —from his infancy upwards—I cannot say. In the meantime, I have only to observe, that as the Americans are fully awake to the importance of this subject, and neglect nothing, as far as I can see, to give themselves the fairest chance for success, in the event of a contest, it behoves us to keep our eyes open likewise. Above all, we ought not to expose ourselves a second time to the hazards which are incident to an undue depreciation of an enemy's prowess.

CHAPTER V.

The garrison of Fortress Monroe, at the time of my visit, was about seven hundred strong, chiefly artillerymen and engineers, besides a considerable number of slaves, and other labourers.

I was in time for the evening parade on the 7th of February, 1828, and for the first time in the United States saw a regular body of troops under arms. About 200 men were drawn up, amongst whom were no fewer than twenty-four officers, principally cadets sent from the Military Academy at West Point, to acquire a more thorough and practical knowledge of their business. The appearance of these troops was very soldierlike, and every way creditable to the superintendence of the experienced officer in command of this station.

Just as I was leaving the parade, my attention was drawn by the clattering of chains to a court-yard lying on one side of the exercising ground. Here I found a large party of men, about two hun-

dred in number, each one of whom carried a heavy chain, which hung in a festoon between his legs, one end being riveted to the ankle, while the other trailed a twenty-four pound shot along the ground. Most of these persons, it appeared, were deserters from the army; though some had been guilty of disobedience, and other acts of insubordination to military discipline. They were all dressed in party-coloured jackets, on the back part of which was painted "United States convict," and I do not remember to have beheld a more humiliating, or, if I may be permitted to say so, a more unmilitary spectacle.

The old method of punishing offences by flogging has been abolished in the American army, by an act of Congress, dated the 16th May, 1812; and ever since, as far as I could learn, from enquiries in every part of the Union, the discipline of the troops has been gradually declining, and the soldiers becoming discontented, chiefly, I believe, in consequence of the introduction of a great variety of other punishments, some of which I had an opportunity of seeing.

It is too much the fashion in America, and elsewhere, to call no punishment corporal but that of stripes. Yet I take the liberty of saying, that not a single one of all the substituted punishments, which I had the pain to witness, or to hear de-

scribed, and which the abolition of the ancient system has forced into the American army, was less corporal in itself, or in any degree less degrading to the soldier's mind, than the former method.

I never met an American officer practically acquainted with the subject, who did not admit that no adequate substitute had yet been found to supply the place of the long-established system; and I ascertained distinctly, from unexceptionable authorities, that in many cases the officers, in order to get the duty done at all, had been absolutely forced to adopt, at their own hazard, the old method of controlling such turbulent spirts as, without such sharp discipline, were not only useless to the service, but absolutely mischievous. The consequence is, that the soldiers, thus harassed by uncertainty, or finding their spirits broken by the disgraceful nature of the numberless ways adopted at the caprice, or by the ingenuity, of their officers to enforce obedience, are prompted to desert in great numbers. I have reason to believe that the men themselves—I mean the good soldiers amongst them—would be far better pleased if there had been no change made in the nature of their punishments. "We should then know," say they, "exactly what we have to depend upon; and though the discipline might, and, indeed, to be

worth any thing, must be severe, it would be regular, and we should understand it."

I may here remark, that it has not been proposed by the Americans to tamper in the same dangerous way with the discipline of their Navy—the stake in that case being vastly too great to be trifled with, and the consequent difference in efficiency between the two services is one of the most striking things I ever saw.

In discussing this very unpleasant question, most people are apt, and very naturally, to introduce a greater allowance of feeling than of sound reasoning into the views which they take of the matter. But, in the end, we may be sure that sober reason alone can determine the point. The topic is one of such high importance, that I feel unwilling to pass it by; but I trust there is no indelicacy, still less any appearance of insensibility to human suffering, in considering gravely which of a variety of punishments—all of them by their very nature and intention disagreeable—shall be selected as the most efficacious in accomplishing the indispensable objects in view, at the least expense of pain and degradation to the parties exposed to its action.

The occupations of a private soldier, or of a sailor before the mast, are extremely varied and laborious, whilst his morals are almost necessarily as loose as his joys are brief, tumultuous, and every way in-

temperate. He is seldom possessed of any education, has hardly any principles to steady him, and knows nothing about self-control as a voluntary habit. The punishments, therefore, which are to restrain such a being, must, in like manner, be severe and transient, in order to have the slightest chance of producing any useful effect. Such a man is nourished with excitements; and if the stimuli which are applied to any part of his motives—either good or bad—be insipid in their nature, or needlessly protracted, he will despise them accordingly. All his ideas and all his feelings are afloat, and drifting about by every wave of passion, unchecked by much reasoning, or by any refinements.

The very soul of sound discipline is uniformity and decision of purpose on the part of the officer —and prompt obedience on that of the men. But, that order may be produced out of such a chaos of loose materials as those which compose a regiment or a ship's crew, especially when brought suddenly together, the only practicable method seems to be that of adapting, as exactly as possible, the punishments to the habits and feelings of the persons whom they are intended to control. That is to say, chastisement ought to follow inevitably and quickly upon every departure from well-understood and established rules; it ought also to be impressive, brief, and exemplary; of a nature capable of cor-

rect measurement, and not such as, by protracting the sufferings of the offender, shall injure the health, either of the body or of the mind, but such as will send the offender at once back to his duty, with a deep sense of his past folly engraved on his recollection, associated with a strong personal motive to avoid future deviations from the straight path of his easily performed duty.

Corporal punishment, I admit in the fullest sense, is a most formidable weapon of discipline. It is intended to be so;—the nature of warlike service requires it,—and all experience shows that it is strictly in character with the whole spirit of those rugged employments in which soldiers and seamen are engaged, as well as with those tastes and habits by which their lives are regulated. All effective discipline, whether it be domestic or military, must have its source in the feelings of the persons who are to be controlled by its exercise. In order, therefore, to secure good results, in any walk of life, afloat or on land, in a city or in a cottage, we must work upon mankind by those feelings which they actually have in their breast, not by those of which they are assuredly destitute. Where mental delicacy, accordingly, is absent, less refined motives must be brought into play, or we shall waste our strength on mere shadows, and accomplish nothing.

It is the greatest of all mistakes to suppose that soldiers or sailors are not, in practice, aware of these commonplace truths. They certainly consider corporal punishment as painful—and what wholesome punishment is not? But if, when all things are considered, they do not themselves view it as humiliating, why should other people volunteer to consider it in that light, or prompt them to fancy themselves ill used, when they have no such thoughts in their heads? In the apprehension of the soldier, most of these substitutes are actually held to be more disgraceful and irksome than those punishments which persons, who merely speculate on the subject, without having grappled with it practically, wish to see removed. The truth, I suspect, is, that people of education and refinement are apt to judge of this matter as they would do, if they were themselves placed, with all their present ideas and habits, in the situation of private soldiers or sailors. This, however, is not the true way to consider such a question.

It is quite certain, indeed, that the great majority of the men themselves have a totally different set of feelings, just as they have a different set of habits, occupations, and even a different language, from educated persons. They are either by nature, or by long habit have become, intemperate in all things, and they currently treat one another in a

way which would be disgraceful for their officers or other gentlemen to tolerate for a moment amongst themselves, though perfectly proper and natural for the men. Their labours are those of the hands, not of the head; and their pleasures, in the same way, are coarse, sensual, and often disgusting to persons of refinement. In one word —the whole tenor of their lives and conversation —thoughts, feelings, and actions—are dissimilar to those of gentlemen. Why, therefore, as long as such is their deportment, should not their punishments be as widely contradistinguished? In strictness, corporal punishment does not carry with it the humiliation that is supposed to attach to it. That there is degradation, I fully admit, but this lies, essentially, in the nature and degree of the offence, —not in its chastisement.

If an officer offends, he is punished by methods altogether different from those by which the soldier or sailor is corrected, but in a manner equally suitable to his habits and feelings, and certainly not one whit less severe. Generally speaking, indeed, the officer's offence is more severely visited than that of the private soldier or the foremast man —a reprimand, not to say a dismissal, being felt as deeply by him, as corporal punishment can be by the uneducated persons under his command.

It would not be more absurd to invert the case,

and give an officer a sound drubbing for ungentlemanlike conduct, than merely to reprimand or dismiss a private soldier or sailor when he got drunk. This is too manifest an absurdity to be thought of. But when it is proposed to do away the ordinary, established mode of punishment, to which the men are not only accustomed, but are quite willing to submit,—what are we to do? Recourse, it is said, may be had to other punishments, which are better adapted to their class. What are they? Solitary confinement in a dark cell—short allowance of provisions—additional labour in disagreeable and humiliating occupations—chaining heavy balls to the legs—picketing—cobbing, and so forth, are a few of the alternatives proposed. Some of these, which I do not choose to describe more particularly, have been already introduced in America as substitutes, and, by a strange misnomer, in contradistinction to what are technically called corporal punishments. But I would ask any reasonable person who happens to know the meaning of the terms, if there can be any thing more strictly corporal than the punishments just enumerated? It is said they are aimed at the mind and feelings, but surely they hit the body likewise, and in so doing, carry with them humiliations—I venture to assert without fear of contradiction—vastly greater than are ever

found by experience to follow in the case of the ordinary discipline.

The severest corporal punishments, even when administered in the solemn and deliberate manner usual on board a man-of-war, very seldom last above a few minutes. Yet there is scarcely any nature so stern, or fortitude so enduring, as not to remember, for a long period afterwards, the monitory lesson which is taught in that brief space of time. The example, also, is eminently impressive at the moment, on the minds of all who witness it. But neither the sufferers, nor the spectators, feel any of that permanent humiliation so generally, but erroneously, imputed to them on these occasions, by persons who are not aware of the character and habits of soldiers and seamen. To this it is sometimes answered, "So much the worse—the fact of their not caring shows how much the system has degraded those who are exposed to its action." But it seems to me that this is mistaking one thing for another. The true degradation, as I said before, lies in the crime, not in the punishment, which is strictly in character with it; and until means can be devised for working an effectual change in the nature of these men's habits, it seems much worse than idle to alter a system which the experience of so many years, under such a variety of circumstances, has proved

to be singularly efficacious. In point of fact, however, this remedy does come in time; for when a ship—and I presume it is so with a regiment—is once brought into good order, the men do virtually change their nature, by leaving off those dissolute and disobedient habits, which invariably characterise them when they are left free to act for themselves, or when the discipline is lax. As soon as things reach this desirable point—which ought to be the grand aim of every officer—the punishments in a great measure cease.

But it is far otherwise when the new punishments are adopted. In the first place, the duration, if not the severity of these substitutes, is always much protracted. For as the professed object is to avoid bodily pain, the castigation must be extended in proportion to its mildness, in order to allow of its producing any effect either on the offender as a lesson, or on his companions as an example. Solitary confinement—the most horrible of punishments when prolonged to any extent—is nothing at all for a short space of time to a person accustomed to hard labour. These men, also, are so little accustomed to the independent exercise of their own thoughts, that we expect a great deal too much if we suppose they will at once turn solitude to good account. Consequently, when a man so circumstanced is placed in solitary confinement,

he will be disposed to brood over the severity of the punishment, in order to encourage vindictive feelings towards his superiors, and hatred towards the duties of his profession; so that when at length he comes out, he will probably be a worse subject than when he went in, still less tractable, and more anxious to desert. Meanwhile, all the benefit of example is lost—the culprit's sufferings, whatever they may have been in fact, are not witnessed by his fellows—and if he has a spark of manly spirit left when released from his dungeon, he will be sure to make light of his punishment amongst his companions. But no man, or not one in a thousand, can do this at the gangway. And although it may be true, that he feels, when under the lash, no great kindness to his officer, the transient nature of the punishment leaves no time for discontent to rankle. At all events, I never remember having detected, during upwards of twenty years' service afloat, the smallest symptom of ill-will resting on the mind of any sailor, whose punishment, however severe, was strictly in accordance with established usage.

It is a singular fact, and well worthy of being carefully borne in mind during these discussions, that all men, particularly in those walks of life of which I am now more particularly speaking, have a strong tendency to conform, without much re-

flection perhaps, but quite cheerfully, to whatever is technically or habitually established. They are almost always more harassed and teased, than obliged by any changes from ordinary custom to those methods of discipline which seem more lenient, but which generally prove far more irksome, probably from not being so well understood. Even in merchant ships, where no legal power is vested in the master, he may, and does currently, punish his crew, who submit with perfect patience, so long as the method and the degree of the correction, but especially the method, are strictly technical and habitual amongst persons similarly placed. If, however, the master's temper gets the better of his judgment, and he inflicts even a minor degree of punishment in a manner not strictly according to long established usage, the crew no longer submit, but become discontented and turbulent, and eventually bring the master to an account. I have observed, accordingly, that judges and juries are generally guided, both in the American courts and in ours, by these identical feelings, and direct their chief enquiries to ascertain, not whether the correction has been more or less corporal, but exclusively whether the forms observed are those customary in such cases at sea.

The very same principles, in point of fact, regulate the discipline in ships of war, and I pre-

sume also that of regiments. So long as the established customs of the service are rigidly adhered to, all goes on smoothly, the men are contented and happy, chiefly because they understand exactly what they have to trust to. They know how to keep out of scrapes, and they well know the penalty if they fall into them. I have often heard them say, "Well, I have got into a pretty mess, but I must back it out!" and so the thing passes. In the course of time—or as soon as the crew have learnt, as the saying is, 'the length of the captain's foot,'—all parties find it their truest interest to do what is right, after which, punishments, as I said before, either cease altogether, or become extremely rare.

But when the mild system—contradistinguished in name from corporal, though just as corporal in fact—is adopted, all this compactness of system is cast adrift. There is little or no measure in the amount of punishment, which then follows so sluggishly upon the heels of offence, that the crime is generally forgotten in the chastisement. Whenever this is the case, the punishment, as a matter of course, assumes a vindictive aspect.

No people know the truth of these things better than the seamen themselves. When the fleet mutinied at the Nore, it never once entered into their thoughts to stipulate for the abolition of corporal

punishment. Such a wild project was never even spoken of. So far from harbouring any notion of the kind, the ringleaders themselves, in every one of the ships, maintained their authority, by keeping up the ordinary discipline, through those very means—with this important difference, however—they were more than doubly severe in the use of the lash, than their officers had ever been. These able but desperate traitors, well knew that there were no other means of enforcing prompt and effective obedience—and their authority, by its very nature, being unsubstantial, they called to their aid a larger share of severity than their legitimate superiors had ever found it necessary to use —but they never dreamt of altering its character.

As it cannot be denied, that by far the greater proportion of all permanent and effective obedience is due to opinion—to custom—to tacit agreement, or whatever else it may be called, a judicious officer will never be disposed to use punishment with any other object in view than as a preventive to crime. But all experience proves, that in order to carry with him the sympathies of the people he has to deal with, he must maintain the established or known order of things, by endeavouring as much as possible to conform to recognised punishments —not to devise new ones.

That such power is peculiarly liable to abuse is

so obvious, that every person in command ought to be circumscribed by responsibilities of the most distinct nature; and no officer should ever be allowed for one moment to escape the vigilance of still higher and more responsible authorities. Such superintendence will never interfere with good discipline, because it will always be directed to the detection of departures from those technical usages, which, as they derive their chief excellence from the circumstance of being well understood by all the parties concerned—men as well as officers—it is of the greatest consequence to preserve unchanged, in order to their being duly watched.

The regulation by which officers are obliged to make periodical and detailed reports of the number of punishments inflicted, has undoubtedly improved the discipline of the British navy. It has acted in two ways:—first, by lessening the actual number of punishments, and, secondly, by increasing the vigilance of the officers, who are now stimulated to exert themselves to prevent crime, in order to avoid the character of being unnecessarily severe. The uniformity of the system has also been so firmly established by these means, that any young or intemperate officer must now adhere, in spite of himself, more or less to a regular course, familiar alike to the men and to their superiors.

If benevolent but inexperienced persons, ima-

gine they can lessen the amount of human suffering by abolishing the system alluded to, and yet have fleets and armies in such a state of discipline as shall enable them to meet an enemy at any given moment of the day or night, I believe they are very much mistaken. The truth, I suspect, is, that many people cannot bear to think of there being any punishments at all; and their schemes, if fairly analyzed, will generally be found to aim at its total abolition. But statesmen and officers in whose hands the defence of the country has been placed—whatever be their private feelings—are forced to view the matter differently; and as strict and uniform discipline is obviously quite essential to that defence, they dare not risk the honour of the country by relinquishing the only means which have been found generally effectual in accomplishing objects of such high importance.

Before I conclude this painful subject, I may remark, that it is the greatest of all mistakes to suppose the captain of a man-of-war a mere despot. In fact he is the most limited of all monarchs. He may, it is true, make himself very disagreeable; but if he step aside—or is supposed to step aside—one hair's-breadth from the 'laws and customs used at sea,' the lowest cook's-boy, as well as the oldest officer on board, has always a ready appeal—a privilege, by the way, of which they are by no

means slow to avail themselves, as the captain often discovers by return of post, in terms which prove to him that a goose-quill can sometimes cut much deeper than the cat-o'-nine-tails.

The exertions of really philanthropic men, however, who wish to diminish the amount of human suffering in armies or fleets, as far as may be consistent with the maintenance of proper authority, ought to be directed to the improvement of discipline, not to its subversion. There are, I conceive, various ways and means of modifying the present system, so as to make it still more the duty and the interest, as well as the pleasure of the officer, to substitute the prevention of faults for their chastisement.

I shall not allude further to these measures, than by assuring such persons as take an interest in this important subject, that they have no resemblance whatever to the revolution which has been brought about in the American army. The discontented, as well as the confessedly wretched state of discipline into which troops have fallen, in those places where the change has been made, is the best commentary upon the ball and chain, the starvation, and the solitary confinement system; while the high state of efficiency and perfect cheerfulness of regiments and ships, under the old method, is the clearest evidence of its superiority.

It ought always to be recollected, however, that reckless as the character of soldiers and sailors generally is, they are yet keenly alive to the feeling of being observed; and there is no class of men upon whom commendation, or any other judicious kindness, is bestowed with more advantage, when it comes from those whom they have been taught to respect. Vigilance, therefore, and exemplary conduct on the part of the officers, while they essentially tend to prevent the commission of faults, and consequently the necessity of punishment, place in their hands the far more graceful power of rewarding good conduct.

Nothing, indeed, is farther from my intention in the foregoing reasoning, than to recommend the frequent or familiar use of severe measures. My sole purpose is to show, that, in cases where serious punishment of some kind is found absolutely necessary for the maintenance of effective discipline, the old system is far better, not only for the public service, but also for the individuals exposed to it, than the futile and harassing substitutes which have been tried in its place.

CHAPTER VI.

On the 9th of February, 1828, I made an excursion to the Dismal Swamp, a singular marsh of great extent, lying a few miles to the southward and eastward of Norfolk. This gloomy and well-named region is entirely covered with forests of pine, juniper, and cypress trees, growing out of a thick stratum of peat moss, under which, at the depth of about 15 feet, is found a bed of sand. The swamp has been ascertained, by carefully levelling it, to decline gradually, but very slightly, from west to east towards the Atlantic, the inclination being about one foot in a mile. The surface of sand upon which this bed of peat rests, I understand, is perfectly horizontal. Probably, therefore, the whole is one of those immense diluvian deposits consequent upon the great torrent which appears to have swept from north to south over the greater part of the country we visited.

A canal has been cut across this Dismal Swamp

to connect the waters which flow into the Chesapeake Bay in Virginia, with those which fall into another great estuary called Albemarle Sound, in North Carolina. It is hoped by the projectors of this work, which is not yet completed, that the produce of the fertile lands, bordering on the Roanoke River, will be transported by it to the Port of Norfolk, and thus the drooping fortunes of that town may be repaired, though for many years past they have been on the wane, and have lately received almost a death-blow in consequence of the indiscreet loss of the West India trade.

On the 10th of February we left Norfolk, and proceeded through North Carolina to Fayetteville. We had the stage-coach to ourselves nearly all the way; for the travelling in that part of America is almost as periodical as the seasons, and we chanced to hit the intermediate moment when nobody was moving either way. In June and July, great numbers of the inhabitants of South Carolina, Georgia, and Florida, leave their homes, and travel away to the north out of reach of the fatal mal'aria. On the first breath of cool air springing up in the latter end of September, the tide begins to flow back again; and during October and November, the road is covered with regular stages, extras, gigs, horses, and Jersey waggons out of number. It is said that many people,

in their eager haste to get back, dash into the very evil they had sought to avoid. For it seems that few, if any, of the Southern States where the yellow fever prevails, can be reckoned safe till one good black frost has essentially changed the character of the atmosphere.

Our first sleeping place, Winton, in North Carolina, we had hoped to reach before night-fall. But in this we were mistaken, and the last few leagues of our journey, though interesting enough, were by no means agreeable. The road for about twelve miles passed through a dense forest of pines and junipers rising out of a continued swamp, along which the carriage-way seemed to be floated on poles, or trunks of small trees, laid across; which being covered with nothing but a thin stratum of earth and leaves, was fearfully jolty. The evening, moreover, was so dark, that the forest on each side of us stood up to the height of sixty feet like a perpendicular cliff of coal, with a narrow belt of sky above, serving no other purpose than to point out the way, by a feeble ghost-like reflection from the ditches on either side, which looked as if they were filled with ink.

It was a sort of guesswork driving; for we came every now and then to pools a quarter of a mile in length, through which the horses splashed and floundered along, as well as they might, drawing

the carriage after them in spite of holes, into which the fore-wheels were dipped almost to the axletrees, making every part of the vehicle creak again. These sounds were echoed back with a melancholy tone from the desolate blank on both hands, mingled with the croaking of millions of frogs, whose clear sharp note, however, gave some relaxation to the ear from the gloomy silence of this most dreary of forests.

Any thing was a relief after the amphibious sort of navigation through such a tunnel as this, and we breathed more freely on reaching the banks of the river Chowan, one of the feeders to Albemarle and Pamlico Sounds, important parts of that great chain of inland shallow seas, the Chesapeake, the Delaware, and others, which are highly advantageous to the purposes of a coasting trade, though unsuited to the navigation of large ships.

We were ferried across the stream by slaves, who stuck several torches, made of the pitch pine-tree, into the sides of the scow, or flat. This blaze of light immediately about us, made the solitude and silence of the forest in our rear even more impressive than it had appeared, when we ourselves were almost lost in the gloom.

In a smiling sort of kitchen-parlour, we found some piping-hot, newly-caught shad, the first fish of the season, flanked by a pot of clear coffee, placed

before a bright, crackling wood fire—a most welcome sight indeed! Probably no jaded wanderers ever enjoyed a supper and night's rest more completely than we did.

By half past five in the morning of the 11th of February, we were once more seated in our lumbering, creaking vehicle. But the balmy and almost tropical weather, so propitious to our operations during the preceding ten days, was now exchanged for a sharp and snarly frost, which stole into the carriage through the openings between the curtains, or by sundry cracks we had either not seen or not cared for before. There is no comfort, nor any sort of interest, nor any patience in travelling when it is cold. So that while we in vain wrapped ourselves in cloaks, and stamped our feet, the prospect of as good a breakfast as the supper of the evening before, was our only support and consolation. Alas! for the traveller's hopes! The worthy folks at the place where we stopped, not having seen a stage passenger for a month, had made no preparations; and what was still more unfortunate, the fare which they were content to live upon themselves was so new to us, that we could not eat it, sharp set as we were. There was no bread, except some lumps of paste, resembling in colour, weight, and flavour, so many knobs of pipe-clay, but got up expressly for us by these obli-

ging people as wheaten cakes. Their own Indian corn bread was probably very good of its kind, and for those who like it, I dare say excellent. There was also fried eggs and bacon, and a dish which looked like apple-fritters; but when the coatings of batter were removed, the joints of a small, half-starved hen, made their appearance, the whole dish forming but one reasonable mouthful. We had brought tea with us, fortunately, and with some difficulty we got a little milk for the child; but, upon the whole, a worse meal we thought it impossible to find—till dinner time came round, and showed us the extent of our miscalculations.

In our future journeys in the Southern States we managed better; for, instructed by experience, we took care to carry wheaten bread, rice, sugar, and various other stores, along with us. The inhabitants, indeed, were, in every part of the country, ready to give us all they had; but their ordinary wants being entirely of a different nature from ours, they very often had it not in their power to entertain us in the manner their kindness would have wished. This was our fault, never theirs; for hospitality was a thing we were sure to meet with in every corner—no matter how remote.

We passed during these meagre, or rather fasting days, many cotton plantations, and some tobacco fields; but the chief cultivation was that of

Indian corn. In the more northern parts of the country, we had been every where much struck with the air of bustle, and all sorts of industry—men riding about, chopping down forests, building up houses, ploughing, planting, and reaping,—but here in Carolina all mankind appeared comparatively idle. The whites, generally speaking, consider it discreditable to work, and the blacks, as a matter of course, work as little as they can. The free population prefer hunting, and occupy themselves also very much with the machinery of electioneering. The climate of a great part of the Carolinas, I believe, renders it nearly impossible for white men to work in the fields; which irremediable circumstance, taken along with the existence of slavery, by indisposing them to labour, naturally gives a higher zest to the stimulus of the forest chase, or of still more exciting politics.

The mixture of slavery and democracy—the meeting of extremes—is not altogether new in the history of the world; but the results are modified in America by circumstances both moral and physical, which had no existence in Greece or Rome. In these modern democracies there is plenty of room, plenty of printing, plenty to eat, and no neighbours to interfere with them—so many keys, perhaps, which, if properly applied, may help to

unlock the secret of much of the difference existing between the ancient and modern republics.

At Fayetteville, which is a very pretty and flourishing town, situated on the right bank of Cape Fear River, we remained for four days, which were not more than enough to make up for the fatigues of the journey from Norfolk. The distance, indeed, was merely 240 miles, and occupied only three days and two nights. But in America, where, of all places in the world, the labour of a journey must not be measured by its length, we were never sure how we were likely to be off as to roads or accommodation, till we came to try. For example, the last few miles of the way before reaching Fayetteville, were more intolerably bad than we had conceived possible in the neighbourhood of such a city. We naturally augured extremely ill of the taverns we were likely to meet with at that place; but to our surprise and joy, we found ourselves lodged in one of the best hotels in the country. The terms of the following advertisement set forth some of its merits:—

"Besides the advantage of a number of rooms, with *single beds*, *fire-places*, and bells, the Lafayette Hotel contains several *handsome drawing-rooms*, *and apartments* particularly suited for the private accommodation of TRAVELLING FAMILIES."

The Italics in the original, are intended to point

out what is peculiar. The luxury of a private parlour, and of meals at our own hours, without hurry or worry, cannot be described to persons who have never been exposed to the contrary. I really believe we extended our stay twice as long as we should otherwise have done at Fayetteville, purely on account of these apparently trivial advantages.

It is right to state here, that during all our journey, there never was the smallest difficulty about our having at least one bedroom exclusively for our use. For more than a month at a particular period, it is true, our whole party were obliged to put up with one room. But however crowded the inns might be, this amount of accommodation was in every case afforded us, quite as a matter of course; nor was it ever once suggested to us in any part of the country, to share the room with other people.

I am the more particular in stating this, because a different impression has got abroad as to the probability of travellers with families being put to inconvenience on this score. We certainly never saw the least approach to such incivility.

There is not very much to interest strangers at Fayetteville; but this, instead of a disappointment, was a considerable relief to us, since few things are more tiresome than sight seeing. From mere habit of poking about, however, I happened to ask a

gentleman one day if there was not a prison in the town. "O yes," he said, "and if you are disposed for a walk, we can step there now." I was caught in my own trap, so off we set. On the way we picked up the town constable, who was also the jailor. He looked in at his house as we passed for the key, since he visited the prison only twice a-day he told us—the rogues being left to their own devices in the interval. On reaching the outer gate, as the old gentleman discovered that he had brought the wrong key, we had to wait ten minutes in the rain, while he ran back for the other. In the meantime, we thought we heard a strange noise within of stones falling down, and pickaxes at work. It was clear the prisoners were breaking out, and we held a council of war as to the best method of stopping the proceedings of gentlemen so inclined. But the constable, on his return, made no difficulties, so in we all marched. The cause of the noise was now apparent enough. A daring fellow, who had been put in for stealing watches, and riding off on a blind horse, had succeeded in wrenching an iron bar from the fire-place, with which he had broken down a considerable portion of the inner wall of his room. In a couple of hours he would have been at liberty, so that my casual question about the institutions of Fayetteville was unlucky for him.

The man himself was quite astonished at this ill-timed visit, and asked me—in a sort of aside—how on earth we came to know what he was about? I replied that I knew nothing at all about his proceedings, but being a traveller, had asked to see the prison—out of mere curiosity. An additional force of constables had by this time assembled, and our disappointed culprit was transported to a stronger apartment. On his way up stairs, he turned round and addressed me, half in anger, half in good-humour, at his own joke, "Ah, if it had not been for you, Mr Curiosity, I should very soon have been far beyond the reach of these fellows!"

During our stay at Fayetteville, a packet of English newspapers, addressed to me, had caught the eye of the Postmaster, in arranging one of the Charleston bags, which he very kindly intercepted. When I called to thank him for this attention, I learnt that he was one of a considerable colony, as it may be called, of Scotch Highlanders settled in the country round Fayetteville. These people have found it to their advantage, it seems, to occupy considerable tracts of the worn out or exhausted land of preceding generations, and by improved husbandry, directed by the vigorous industry of freemen, with little help from slaves, to reclaim soils heretofore considered as useless. The number of these Highlanders and their descend-

ants, who still retain almost exclusively their native language, is so considerable, that a clerk who understands Gaelic, forms a necessary part of the Post-office establishment. The head-quarters of this Celtic population in North Carolina, is Fayetteville; but we fell in with many others on our route from Norfolk to that town, and also to the southward of it, on our way to Colombia in South Carolina. I remember one evening being a good deal struck with the driver singing, in a very plaintive style, the well-known Scotch song, "Should auld acquaintance be forgot?" I afterwards led him into conversation about our common country, as I thought. But, to my surprise, I found he had not been out of North Carolina, though his feelings appeared nearly as true to the land of his forefathers, as if they had never left it. They were true, also, I have no doubt, to the country adopted by his parents; but as it was seldom we found the two regarded as compatible, the incident touched us the more nearly.

We ourselves enjoyed, I think, some advantage during our travels, particularly in Virginia and in the Carolinas, from being Scotch people, for whom the Americans certainly have more kindliness of feeling than for the English. It is quite true that, in spite of the absence of national cordiality, they are obliging and hospitable to every stranger in-

dividually, English included, of course. But we, the Scotch, as being in a less degree the representatives of the nation, and in some slight, imaginary sense, opposed to them, gain, it should seem, additional favour. It gives me pleasure to say, that I never met an American who did not seem glad of any opportunity to make up, by his attention to individuals, for the habitual hostility which, as a sort of duty, they appear collectively to cherish against England as a nation. I hope and trust that the Americans find the same thing when they visit us. National ill-will, like that of private persons, is generally reciprocal. But I should be grieved to think that in any case it extended in either country to travellers from the other. It always, therefore, gives me much pleasure when I have an opportunity of repeating, that we, at least, never should have discovered, from our own particular reception, that any coolness existed between the two countries.

On the 17th of February, we started afresh on our southern tour, and stopped at a place called Montpellier, though the house stood on a perfect level. It was a simple set of farm-offices, cut out, as it were, with a hatchet, from the dense, black pine forest, which hung all round the horizon, like an immense pall nailed upon the clouds, and reaching to the earth. It would not be easy to de-

scribe the comfortless sort of aspect belonging to a newly cleared settlement in the American woods. It has a look of intrusion upon nature, a sort of ungracious attack upon the ancient solitary reign of the trees—native lords of the soil—who had risen up and fallen down, generation after generation, undisturbed. Every thing at such a spot looks bald, naked, and raw. There is an angular freshness about the newly-made houses—the fences round the fields are formed of rifted logs, with the green, sappy bark still clinging to them—the ground under the plough is still rife with trees, tall as heretofore, but shorn of their verdant top by the horrid process of girdling, which, as I have before described, puts an end to vegetable life, but allows the trunk and branches to remain like so many ghosts in the wilderness—undrained swamps stagnate in the midst of corn fields—roads, barely passable, are hastily formed out of poles laid from side to side on the soft earth—on every hand there is the most extravagant waste of land. No attention is paid to neatness or finish of any kind—in doors, or out of doors—so that comfort is a word not yet known in those regions!

On the 19th of February we reached the pleasant little town of Camden, where the obliging landlord of a most agreeable, and handsomely-furnished tavern, introduced us to several of his

acquaintances, residents on the spot, who were all anxious to do the honours of the place. Unfortunately for us, however, we were so completely jaded with the labours of the journey, that it was equally fatiguing to listen or to speak. One passing remark, however, struck me so much, that, though half asleep, I made a memorandum of it before rolling into bed. We were conversing on the subject of slavery, and a gentleman said to me—

"You have no idea, sir, how we are cursed with our servants."

"How is that?"

"Why, sir," he replied, "suppose I have a slave who is a drunkard and a thief—and, really, almost the whole race are dissipated and dishonest —how can I get rid of him? I cannot sell him, for nobody will be his purchaser; the laws won't allow me to turn him about his business. I am, therefore, obliged to feed, clothe, and take care of this rogue, while, all the time, I get no service out of him, and know him to be a scamp of the first order!"

Next day, the 20th of February, we hired an extra stage, and proceeded at our own pace, leisurely, to Columbia, the seat of government of South Carolina; a city interesting on many accounts, but chiefly so to a stranger, from the intelligence and

learning of the professors of the college, and of many other persons who reside there.

During the morning's drive, we overtook several bodies of migrants—if there be such a word—farmers errant, proceeding with all their worldly goods, according to the usual tide of these matters in this country, from East to West, or rather, to be quite correct, from North-east to South-west —from Virginia and Maryland to Florida, Georgia, and Alabama.

The first party consisted of a planter and his wife, accompanied by his brother-in-law and family, a whole troop of their children—and some forty or fifty slaves of all ages and sizes. The wanderers were encamped near a creek, as it is called in America, or what we should term a brook, or burn, on the grassy banks of which they were scattered, over a space of several hundred yards, on both sides of the road, under the shade of a grove of sycamore-trees. Their travelling equipage consisted of three waggons, and one open carriage, under the lee of which some of the party were busy cooking the dinner when we came up.

We stopped, of course, and conversed for some time with the principal person, who was on his way, he said, to Florida with his whole establishment. He had left a good property, he told us, farther to the north, near Cheraw, on the banks of

the Great Pedee River in South Carolina; but though he had no distinct idea where he should settle, he seemed quite sure that he could not possibly go wrong in so fertile and unoccupied a country. Our new acquaintance was a tall, stout, cheerful-looking man, with a cast of enterprise and determination about him, which I daresay have enabled him, long ere this time, to convert a considerable portion of the useless forest into rich and cultivated ground.

While we were talking with this hardy pioneer of the wilderness—as these frontier settlers are well called in America—our little girl and her maid were fully occupied in their own way at the opposite window of the carriage. We had drawn up just abreast of a group of slaves, consisting of two or three women with six or eight little children playing about them, none of whom—I mean the infantry—were much encumbered with clothing, but who did not on that account excite less of the child's admiration. She literally screamed with delight, but would not be satisfied till she got hold of a large sponge-cake we had brought with us, as part of our stores, from Fayetteville. Having broken it into bits, she distributed the cake amongst the shining little blackies, to the unspeakable satisfaction of the mothers, who sat on the bank smiling with as much freedom of soul as if they had

been resting by the side of some far away African stream, the home of their ancestors, which—according to their simple belief—will still be their residence, when death shall step in to restore the long-lost liberty of their race.

The second party of emigrants, who had already taken their dinner, were on the march. It was smaller than the other, and did not consist of above thirty persons in all, of whom five-and-twenty at least were slaves. The women and children were stowed away in waggons, moving slowly up a steep sandy hill; but the curtains being let down, we could see nothing of them, except an occasional glance of an eye, or a row of teeth as white as snow. In the rear of all came a light, covered vehicle, with the master and mistress of the party. Along the roadside, scattered at intervals, we observed the male slaves trudging in front. At the top of all, against the sky line, two men walked together, apparently hand in hand, pacing along very sociably. There was something, however, in their attitude, which seemed unusual and constrained. When we came nearer, accordingly, we discovered that this couple were bolted together by a strong, short chain or bar, riveted to broad iron clasps, secured in like manner, round the wrists.

"What have you been doing, my boys," said

our coachman, in passing, " to entitle you to these ruffles ?"

" Oh, sir," cried one of them, quite gaily, " they are the best things in the world to travel with."

The other man said nothing. I stopped the carriage, and asked one of the slave drivers why these men were chained, and how they came to take the matter so differently. The answer explained the mystery. One of the men, it appeared, was married, but his wife belonged to a neighbouring planter, not to his master. When the general move was made, the proprietor of the female not choosing to part with her, she was necessarily left behind. The wretched husband was therefore shackled to a young unmarried man, who, having no such tie to draw him back, might be more safely trusted on the journey.

We arrived in the evening at Columbia, the seat of the government of South Carolina. In the course of next morning, while we were sitting in the public parlour, at the hotel, a party came in, which we soon recognised as belonging to one of the groups of wanderers we had overtaken the day before. While I was hesitating whether or not I might take the liberty of introducing myself,—for I was curious to know their history,—the door opened, and a gentleman came forward who claimed the chief of the party for his brother. After

shaking hands very cordially, the visitor, who was evidently a resident of the city, stepped back, took a seat a little way off, as if to command a better view of the whole party, looked his relative in the face, and nodding his head slowly for some time, broke out thus—" Well! this is the strangest resolution for a man of your years to take into his head! Why, where are you going?"

" I am going to Florida, to be sure."

" To Florida!" cried the other; " what on earth takes you there?"

" Oh," said the migrant, " it is the finest country in the world—a delightful climate—rich soil—plenty of room."

" Have you been there?" asked his brother.

" No, not yet," said the wanderer; " but I know all about it."

" Know all about it! why, you'll be drowned in some creek before you get there."

" No, I shan't, though," retorted the traveller, taking the words in their literal sense; " there is no fear of that, as all the water-courses are bridged."

" Well, well," cried the brother, laughing, " you must have your own way, I suppose. But, pray tell me, what have you done with your estate in Maryland, on which you were fixed when I last

got tidings of you—about four years ago, I think it was?"

"I've sold that property."

"What, all?"

"Yes, all, every inch of it, and I have brought away every movable thing with me. Here we are, you see—my wife, my son there, and my daughter—all my slaves, too, my furniture, horses, and so forth."

"And now, pray, answer me this question—were you not well off where you were located before—had you not plenty of good land?"

"Oh yes, plenty."

"Did you, in fact," continued his cross-questioner,—"did you want for any thing under the sun?"

"I can't say I did."

"What, then, possesses you to go seeking for a fresh place in such a country as Florida, where you must be content to take up your quarters amongst tadpoles and mosquitoes?"

While the hardy rover was puzzling himself in search of a reasonable answer, his wife took up the discourse, and, half in joke, half in earnest, said, "It is all for the mere love of moving. We have been doing so all our lives—just moving from place to place—never resting—as soon as ever we

get comfortably settled, then it is time to be off to something new."

"Yes, I know my brother's rambling disposition well; but why don't you prevent him, madam?"

"Ah, my dear sir," sighed the lady, "you don't know what it is to be married to a gadding husband."

At this moment I caught my own wife's eye, and the lady who had spoken seeing us smile, fancied we were agreeing with her, and being well pleased with our sympathy, said no more.

But the inexorable interrogator went on in these words,—"Well, well, after all, you understand your own matters best, I suppose; but I should like to know what sort of a scrape you will be in, if you find Florida sickly, and bad in other respects?"

"Oh no," cried the pioneer of the wilderness, "not a bit of a scrape."

"What will you do, then?"

"Why, move along westward, to be sure;—and if I don't find any thing to suit me by the way, in the State of Georgia or Alabama, I can easily put my whole establishment, wife and children, furniture, slaves, and other articles, on board of a steam-boat, and proceed up the Mississippi."

"And where will you land?"

"Indeed, I do not know, and, for that matter,

I don't much care. It is a wide, empty country, with a soil that yields such noble crops, that any man is sure to succeed, go where he will."

"Ay! ay! I see it's no use talking.—However, you must come with me, you and all your family, and pass some time with me at my house —for we shall never meet again, I see that,—and we have many things to talk over, upon which, I trust, we shall agree better than upon these points."

But the wanderer said he could not stop; a night's delay would lose him a hundred dollars, besides the time, neither of which he could spare. So they separated as they had met.

On the 22d of February, I visited the college of Columbia, along with several of the professors. The young men were not in their classes, however, which I was sorry for. It was the anniversary of General Washington's birth-day, and all the world were out amusing themselves. The students at Columbia college reside in the building; and the discipline, I understood, is quite as rigid as can well be enforced. But this costs a great deal of vigilance and trouble on the part of the professors. I heard the same complaint made here, as in most other parts of the Union, that there was the greatest difficulty in persuading the young men to remain long enough in training, to acquire an

adequate amount of classical knowledge. The advantages of the college are, however, so considerable in economical points of view, and also on account of the excellent education there provided, that I believe much has been done for the cause of general information in South Carolina by this popular institution. The examinations are very strict; and if adequate motives could be devised to retain the pupils long enough, there would be little more to wish for. The high stimulus to early marriages, held out by the facility of providing for a family, and the enterprising, uncontrollable spirit of the Southern planters in particular, come sorely in the way of those patient studies, those nights and days of laborious application, by which alone scholars or mathematicians can be formed. The nature of things, indeed, in America, as I have already stated more than once, is so decidedly adverse to such attainments—which minister to none of the existing wants of that country—that, I very much fear, these praiseworthy attempts to force them must for a long time prove abortive.

Nevertheless it is very probable, that the enthusiasm and the talents which are enlisted over many parts of America in the good cause of education, do perform much service to that country upon the whole, though the results fall greatly

short of the wishes and hopes of the men who so gallantly stem the popular tide, which runs steadily in the opposite direction. In elementary education, they have certainly done great things. My remarks refer to the higher branches of knowledge.

From the College, we drove to the New Lunatic Asylum, which was not yet brought into actual operation, so that we walked through all its different compartments without the pain of witnessing the sorrows it is destined to contain. This establishment is really a splendid instance of the public spirit which the Americans delight to evince whenever a beneficent object is fairly put before them. Party spirit for the time is annihilated, and the only struggle seems to be, who shall be foremost in the work of charity.

At half past four, we dined at the Governor's, where a most intelligent party being assembled, opportunities were afforded me, in the most agreeable way, too, of gaining as much local information as I could desire. New classes of topics started up in almost every new State, and it cost no small attention to keep one matter clear of another. To record all that was said on the subject of State Rights—the Tariff—or Internal Improvements, would have required ten times more leisure than I could command. I attempted no

such thing, indeed, but studied as diligently as possible to come at the true state of the facts, by consulting the best local authorities. These, however, were so frequently in direct opposition to one another, that I was often perplexed beyond measure at the time, and cannot say that upon many of these points, I have yet learnt to think clearly.

CHAPTER VII.

We left Columbia on the 23d of February, 1828, and reached Charleston after it was dark, on the evening of the 25th. The road led us sometimes across enormous swamps, and sometimes through extensive pine forests growing on the low, sandy, barren soil of those unhealthy regions. The rivers, which traverse the districts over which we travelled, were so much swollen by the heavy rains of the preceding fortnight, that many parts of the swamps were rendered impassable. Upon one occasion, we were fairly obliged to turn off the road altogether, and pick our way through the woods, in order to avoid a dangerous ford, known by the ominous designation of the Four Holes. Of course, by so doing, we missed all our post-houses, and one set of poor horses had to carry us thirty miles. This, however, was the only inconvenience, for the drive amongst the trees was amusing enough, and tried

the skill of our driver not a little. There was no underwood, properly so called, while the shrubs had been all destroyed a week or two before by a great fire. The pine-trees, the bark of which was scorched to the height of about 20 feet, stood on ground as dark as if it had rained Matchless Blacking for the last month. Our companions assured us, that although these fires were frequent in the forest, the large trees did not suffer. This may be true, but certainly they looked very wretched, though their tops were as green as if nothing had happened.

We carried a basket of provisions with us, and it was well we did so, for even on this road, from the capital to the great seaport of Charleston, the houses are placed at considerable distances from one another, and are inhabited by such poor people, that the accommodation is bad enough. The whole line of road, indeed, is so unhealthy, that very few persons can be induced to reside there, and during a considerable part of the year, the danger of travelling is such, that all the stages are laid up, and the mail is carried on horseback. At one of these forlorn dwellings in the swamp, we were received by the chief female slave, who made an excuse for the non-appearance of her mistress, who was then ill in bed. The lady herself, however,

presently crawled in, evidently weighed down by sickness.

"How are you? how are you, mistress?" said one of the passengers.

"Oh, not well," she groaned out.

"How have you been all this last season?"

"Why," she replied, "I thank God we have all had our fevers." Grateful, apparently, that any one member of the family was left to tell the story!

Charleston is a very pretty-looking city, standing on a dead level, with the sea in front, and two noble rivers, the Ashley and the Cooper, enclosing it on a wide peninsula called the Neck. This space of flat ground is covered with the villas of the wealthy planters, many of which were almost hid in the rich foliage, which even at this early season was in great beauty. In the streets, a row of trees is planted on each side, along the outer edge of the foot pavement, a fashion common to most of the southern towns of America. This tree is generally called the Pride of India, the botanical name being, I believe, Melia Azedarach. From the top of the trunk, which is cut off or pollarded, a number of long slender arms shoot out, bearing bunches of leaves at the extremity. The spring was not far advanced, but most of these trees were budding, and some were in leaf. What gives Charleston its peculiar character, however, is the verandah, or

piazza, which embraces most of the houses on their southern side, and frequently, also, on those which face the east and west. These are not clumsily put on, but constructed in a light Oriental style, extending from the ground to the very top, so that the rooms on each story enjoy the advantage of a shady, open walk. Except in the busy, commercial parts of the town, where building ground is too precious to be so employed, the houses are surrounded by a garden, crowded with shrubs and flowers of all kinds, shaded by double and treble rows of orange trees; each establishment being generally encircled by hedges of a deep green, covered over with the most brilliant show imaginable of large white roses, fully as broad as my hand.

The houses, which stand in the midst of these luxurious pleasure grounds, are built of every form and size, generally painted white, with railed terraces on the tops, and every house, or very nearly every one, and certainly every church spire, of which there are a great number, has a lightning rod, or conductor, in the efficacy of which, by the way, the inhabitants of America have more faith than I think we have in Europe.

I was much struck with the sort of tropical aspect which belonged more to the port of Charleston than to any other I saw in America. I remember one day in particular, when, tempted by

the hopes of catching a little of the cool sea breeze, I strolled to the shore. In two minutes after leaving the principal street, I found myself alongside of vessels from all parts of the world, loading and unloading their cargoes. On the wharf, abreast of a vessel just come in from the Havannah, I observed a great pile of unripe bananas, plucked from the trees only four or five days before in the Island of Cuba. Close by these stood a pyramid of cocoa nuts, equally fresh, some with their husks still on, some recently stripped of their tough wiry coating. The seamen were hoisting out of the hold of a ship, bags of coffee and large oblong boxes of sugar; while a little further up the quay, two negro coopers —whose broken English and peculiar Creole tone showed them to be natives of some French West India Island—were busily employed heading up casks of rice to be shipped in this vessel, as soon as the productions of a still warmer climate should be removed from her.

On every side, the ground was covered, in true commercial style, with great bales of cotton, boxes of fruit, barrels of flour, and large square cases of goods, built one upon the top of another, with the owner's initials painted upon them, within mystical circles and diamonds, visible between the crossings of the cords which had held them tight on their voyage from Europe or from India.

The whole scene, though any thing but new to me, was certainly not on that account less pleasing. The day, also, was bright and sunny, and the numerous vessels which fringed the wharf, or were scattered over the ample bay, were lying with their sails loosed to dry. I almost fancied myself again in the equatorial regions; a vision which brought many scenes of past voyages crowding upon my recollection. I thought of Java—Bermuda—St Christopher's, and the most beautiful of all, Ceylon. Every object on which the eye rested, was in character with those countries, from the dripping forehead of the poor negro, to the cotton sails of the schooners, the luxuriant fruits of the Caribee Islands, and the blue heavens of a perpetual summer. I felt myself hurried back to seas and lands which, if revisited, might not, perhaps, be enjoyed as they once were, but which I shall certainly never forget, as having, in their brilliant reality, far exceeded the wildest conceptions which imagination had ventured to paint of those fairy regions —by some people supposed to have no existence but in the vivid colouring of the poet. Alas! how tame the liveliest creations of fancy appear, when placed by the side even of a limited experience!

But, after all, the most picturesque object in every traveller's landscape is generally the Post-office; and drawing myself away from these de-

licious scenes, some real and some imaginary, I set off in quest of letters. My attention, however, was arrested on the way by a circumstance which I might certainly have expected in Charleston, but somehow had not looked for. On reaching the Exchange, in the centre of which the Post-office is placed, I heard the sound of several voices in the street, like those of an auctioneer urging an audience to bid for his goods. I walked to the side of the gallery overlooking a court or square, in which a number of people were collected to purchase slaves and other property. One man was selling a horse on which he was mounted, and riding up and down the streets; another, in the same way, was driving about in a curricle, bawling out to the spectators to make an offer for his carriage and horses. But of course my attention was most taken up with the slave market.

A long table was placed in the middle of the street, upon which the negroes were exposed, not one by one, but in families at a time. From this conspicuous station they were shown off by two auctioneers, one at each end of the table, who called out the biddings, and egged on the purchasers by chanting the praises of their bargains.

These parties of slaves varied in number. The first consisted of an old, infirm woman, a stout broad-shouldered man, apparently her son, his

wife, and two children. The auctioneer, having told the names of each, and described their qualifications, requested the surrounding gentlemen to bid. One hundred dollars for each member of the family, or 500 for the whole party, was the first offer. This gradually rose to 150, at which sum they were finally knocked down; that is to say, 750 dollars for the whole, or about L.170. Several other families were then put up in succession, who brought from 250 to 260 dollars each member, including children at the breast, as well as old people quite incapable of work.

The next party was exceedingly interesting. The principal person was a stout well-built man, or, as the auctioneer called him, "a fellow, who was a capital driver." His wife stood by his side—a tall, finely proportioned, and really handsome woman, though as black as jet. Her left arm encircled a child about six months old, who rested, in the Oriental fashion, on the hip bone. To preserve the balance, her body was inclined to the right, where two little urchins clung to her knee, one of whom, evidently much frightened, clasped its mother's hand, and never relinquished it during the sale which followed. The husband looked grave and somewhat sad; but there was a manliness in the expression of his countenance, which appeared strange in a person placed in so degra-

ded a situation. What struck me most, however, was an occasional touch of anxiety about his eye as it glanced from bidder to bidder, when new offers were made. It seemed to imply a perfect acquaintance with the character of the different parties competing for him—and his happiness or misery for life, he might think, turned upon a word!

The whole of this pretty group were neatly dressed, and altogether so decorous in their manner, that I felt my interest in them rising at every instant. The two little boys, who appeared to be twins, kept their eyes fixed steadily on their mother's face. At first they were quite terrified, but eventually they became as tranquil as their parents. The struggle amongst the buyers continued for nearly a quarter of an hour, till at length they were knocked down for 290 dollars a-piece, or 1450 dollars for the whole family, about L.330 Sterling.

I learnt from a gentleman afterwards that the negroes, independently of the important consideration of being purchased by good masters, have a singular species of pride on these occasions in fetching a high price; holding it, amongst themselves, as disgraceful to be sold for a small sum of money. This fact, besides showing how difficult it is to subdue utterly the love of distinction, may perhaps be useful in teaching us never to take for granted that any one boasting the human form,

however degraded in the scale, is without some traces of generous feeling. Indeed, I have frequently heard from judicious and kind-hearted slave-holders—for many such there are in America—that however difficult and thankless it often proves, yet there is always sufficient encouragement—sometimes as a matter of feeling, sometimes as a matter of interest—to treat these poor people not as the inferior animals, with so many of whose attributes we are apt to invest them, but, on the contrary, as men gifted more or less with generous motives capable of being turned to account.

At noon, accompanied by one of the most attentive and useful of the numerous friends we had the pleasure to make in America, we drove to the race ground, where we had the satisfaction of seeing a sharply contested match.

There was no great show of carriages, and not above a dozen ladies on the stand, although the day was fine enough to have tempted all the world abroad. I was informed by at least twenty different persons, that this was a most unfavourable specimen of the races, which of late years had been falling off, chiefly, it has been suggested, in consequence of the division of property, by which so many of the large estates had been melted down. Those great landed proprietors, who in all coun-

tries are the true supporters of these expensive but useful amusements, and who used in former days to give such eclat to the Charleston races, are no longer to be found on the turf.

During the interval between the heats, one of those rows, which appear to belong, as a matter of course, to such a place, occurred in front of the stand. Some squabble arose between a tall farmer-looking man, and a sailor. Words of great bitterness were hastily followed by blows, upon which the parties had their coats off in a twinkling. I watched with much curiosity to see how such matters were settled in America, where prize-fighting is not more in fashion than it is in Scotland. In merry England, 'a ring! a ring!' would have been vociferated by a hundred mouths—seconds would have stepped forward—fair play would have been insisted upon—and the whole affair finally adjusted in four or five minutes. One or other of the combatants might have got a sound drubbing, and both would certainly have been improved in manners, for the remainder of that day at least.

It was quite differently settled, however, on this occasion. Several persons rushed out of the crowd, and instead of making them fight it out manfully, separated the disputants by force, who, nevertheless, continued abusing one another outrageously. Not content with this, each of the high contending

parties, having collected a circle of auditors round him, delivered a course of lectures on the merits of the quarrel, till, instead of a single pair of brawlers, there were at least a dozen couples, interchanging oaths and scurrility in the highest style of seaport eloquence.

Where this tumult would have ended, if there had been no interference, it is difficult to guess; but presently a man came with a whip in his hand, with which he very soon cleared the course. This was quite necessary, indeed, as the horses were ready to start; but he carried his operations further than I had any idea would have been permitted. He cut at the men as well as the boys, not in jest, but with some severity. How all this came to be submitted to, in this land of the free, I could not find out. One gentleman to whom I applied for a solution of this mystery, said the offenders were well served, as they had no business to be in the way. Another went so far as to use the facts I have just stated, to illustrate the love of good order, and the ready obedience which the Americans yield to lawful authority. I should just like, however, to see a similar experiment tried at Epsom or Doncaster! There would soon be a fine row, and if the whip and the whipper did not speedily vanish over the ropes, I am much mistaken.

On the evening of the 29th of February, we at-

tended a ball given in the great rooms belonging to the St Andrews Society, to which we had been most kindly invited by the Jockey Club of Charleston.

A traveller should speak with great caution—I may say reluctance—of the private manners and customs of foreign countries, since there is almost a universal unwillingness amongst the natives to be commented upon, in these respects, even when nothing is found fault with. Nevertheless, so many characteristic features of every country are displayed in ball-rooms or other public assemblies, that where no personal descriptions are thought of, or can by any means be made applicable, it may be allowable occasionally to advert to such things for the purpose of illustrating graver matters. If such inferences be drawn with fairness and good-humour, the natives themselves ought, I think, to be rather amused than otherwise, by seeing themselves reflected from the mirror of a stranger's mind. At all events, I am sure, for my own part, I have laughed heartily at the graphic accounts I have read of Edinburgh parties, in more than one American book of travels.

The room was large, the ball handsomely got up, and every thing ordered in the best style, with one small exception—the ladies and gentlemen appeared to be entire strangers to one another. The

ladies were planted firmly along the walls, in the coldest possible formality, while the gentlemen, who, except during the dance, stood in close column near the door, seemed to have no fellow-feeling, nor any wish to associate with the opposite sex.

In the ordinary business of their lives—I mean their busy, money-making, electioneering lives—the Americans have little or no time for companionship, that I could ever see or hear of, with the women, still less for any habitual confidential intercourse. Consequently, when they come together for the express purpose of amusement, those easy and familiar habits which are essential to the cheerfulness of a ball-room, or indeed of any room, are rarely to be found.

In place of that unreserved but innocent freedom of manners, which forms one of the highest charms of polished society elsewhere, I must say that I seldom observed any thing in America but the most respectful and icy propriety upon all occasions when young people of different sexes were brought together. Positively I never once, during the whole period I was in that country, saw any thing approaching, within many degrees, to what we should call a Flirtation; I mean that sedulous and exclusive attention paid to one person above all others, and which may by that person not be unkindly received. Without being called attachment, it

often borders so closely upon it, that mere proximity and frequency of intercourse, tend to sustain a lambent fire beneath, which may be fanned into flame, or be allowed to expire, according as circumstances, upon further acquaintance, prove suitable or otherwise. This degree of incipient interest, sometimes felt by one, sometimes shared by both, will often admit of ample expression, not only without evil consequences to the young parties themselves, but with eminent advantage both to them, and to society. For nothing but good can possibly spring out of a well-regulated exercise of some of the purest and most generous feelings of our nature. I suspect, however, that it is quite essential to the attainment of any high degree of refinement in society, that the practice of expressing such emotions, and many others of a similar character, should be habitual, and not contingent.

Such a degree of freedom of manners cannot, I fear, exist in a society like that of America, where, from its very nature, the rules of behaviour cannot yet have become settled. The absence of all classification of ranks, prevents people from becoming sufficiently well acquainted with one another to justify such intimacies. Or, it may be that in places where an artificial system of manners, appropriate to each class respectively, has not been adopted by general consent, to regulate the inter-

course alluded to, there might be some difficulty in keeping matters within due limits.

In older countries, from long and universal usage —from whose laws no one ever dreams of departing—people go on from year to year with such perfect confidence in one another, that many things are not only looked upon as perfectly innocent and proper, but, from mere habit, become almost integral parts of the system of manners, although in so young a country as America, where nothing of the kind has the sanction of custom, they would probably be considered highly indecorous.

It would be unreasonable to find fault with these characteristic attributes of American manners, and nothing certainly is further from my intention, than any such censure. My wonder, on the contrary is, how a society, such as we actually see there, has sprung up in a country where the property is so equally divided,—where consequently there can be no permanent distinctions of wealth and rank, and the great body of the people are employed nearly in the same pursuit, while such numerous and exciting distractions occur to unsettle all men's thoughts and habits—most of them tending rather to prevent than to encourage the growth of the refinements of life.

To return to very different matters, I may mention, that there are few things against which a tra-

veller in search of information has so much occasion to guard himself, as the very natural prejudices of the people living on the spot. Residents seldom, if ever, imagine it possible that they can be under the influence of those mistaken feelings, which they ascribe so freely to their guests. The reason is obvious. They possess so great a store of facts, they fancy they cannot possibly err—while the stranger, who is acquainted with only a small portion of these, must, in their opinion, inevitably go wrong. But I should like to know what the poor stranger is to do when he meets equally well-informed natives, who take diametrically opposite views of the very same question? In this dilemma lies the danger; for it is always more gratifying to our self-love, and more convenient in every way, to consider that man right whose opinions coincide with our own, than to exchange views with one who thinks differently from us. Nothing is more easy in the practice of travelling, as I have often experienced, than to find supporters on the spot to the most extravagant of our fancies; and, I presume, it is on this account that the natives of every country will bear with more patience the genuine strictures of a foreigner, than they will listen to the criticisms which, if so disposed, he may always cull from amongst themselves, in order to quote against them.

For example, if it were my wish—which it is not—to represent the Americans as generally indifferent to the evils of slavery, I could easily support my opinion by bringing forward the insulated authority of persons, whose names would carry with them considerable weight, and who, I believe, are so sincere, that I do not imagine they would object to my mentioning whence I derived my information. Yet the impression conveyed by their opinions would, nevertheless, be far from correct, as applied generally to the inhabitants of that country.

"For my part," said one of these gentlemen to me, "I consider slavery as no evil at all. On the contrary, I think it a great good; and, upon the whole, I look upon it as a wise arrangement, quite as consistent with the ordering of Providence as any thing else we see."

"You surprise me exceedingly," I replied. "I wish you would tell me on what grounds you maintain so singular a doctrine."

"It is obvious," he continued, "that there must be hewers of wood and drawers of water in the world—you grant me that?"

"Oh! freely."

"Well, then, I contend, that by the slave system, these necessary labours—irksome and disagreeable in themselves, but still indispensable—

are actually performed at a smaller expense of human suffering by slaves, than by any other system that has yet been devised. That is to say, the same work is executed here in the slave-holding States, with less unhappiness than in our northern non-slave-holding States; and with still less misery than in England, where all the property is in the hands of one-tenth part of the population, and the other nine-tenths are in a state of starvation, and consequently, of discontent, and of hostility to their task-masters."

"And what sort of happiness," I asked, "have these slaves, whom you place above your free countrymen?"

"They work much less," he said, "they are as well fed—they have no care for the future—very little for the present—they are in a state of happy ignorance, and know nothing of those things which make freemen miserable; and as they are generally well used, they become attached to their masters, and work on in their service cheerfully."

"Yes," I said, "but have they a single generous motive to incite them to labour? Can they choose their own master? Are they not sold and bought, and separated from one another like cattle? And, in spite of all the degradation you can heap upon them, have they not a distinct perception that the Whites are better off than they can ever be? Are

they not, almost to a man, without religion, or one glimpse of education, or any moral feelings at all?"

"Oh, yes," he answered, "but still the greater part of all the advantages you have named are merely ideal. We must not reason with respect to the Blacks, as if we were reduced to their level. And I by no means deny, that there is much unhappiness amongst them and much vice; but still I contend, that in the aggregate there is not more misery, and probably not so much wickedness—certainly not so much intemperance—as will be found amongst the labouring Whites."

"Upon my word," I exclaimed, "I never heard such a satire upon democracy as you are now uttering; for what comes of all your liberty, and universal suffrage, and intelligence, with equality of rights, and so on, if they lead only to this?"

"Oh! ho!" he cried, "not so fast, if you please; it is just as bad, if not much worse, in England, than it is in our democracy."

I smiled, and said no more.

A few days afterwards, in the same State, I had an opportunity of conversing with a gentleman of whose candour I had an equally high opinion with that of my friend above, but whose views I think are rather more sound.

"Force—power—or whatever name you give it,"

said he, "by which one nation gains the ascendency over another, seems to be, in the practice of life, the grand rule which regulates the intercourse of man with man. Civilisation beats the savage out of the woods by its superior intellectual resources. Free and well-governed nations acquire a power over those which are mismanaged. The sovereigns, whether they be the many or the few, who have got the upper hand, give the law, and the inferior party submits. This may not appear just, but so it is; such is the order of our moral and political nature. It has been so from all time, and will continue so as long as there remain any distinctions between human beings. The slave question is merely one of the varieties of this principle. The Blacks were brought to America when these matters were not treated philosophically; they have since extended themselves far and wide, and have now become, to all intents and purposes, an integral part of our society.

"The masters and the slaves, from long habit, and universal usage, have fallen into certain modes of thinking and of acting relatively to one another; and as this understanding is mutual and complete, the whole machinery goes on with the greatest uniformity, and much more cheerfulness than you will at first believe possible. At least an equal period of time, but perhaps ten or a hundred times

as long a period, may be required to unwind the thread again, and to free the country from this moral and political entanglement.

"In the mean time, it is in vain to deny that—circumstanced as they now are—the negroes belong almost to a different race—so different, that no philanthropist or abolitionist, however enthusiastic, pretends to say that an amalgamation can take place between them and the whites. There is no reasoning upon this point—it seems a law of our nature, and is felt, probably, as strongly in other countries as here. What English gentleman, for example, would give his daughter in marriage to a negro? But the prejudice, or whatever it be, is just as strong in the Southern States of America, with respect to a political community of rights and privileges. And if changes in this respect are ever to be brought about, they can only be accomplished by the slowest conceivable degrees. In the State of New York, the negroes have the privilege of voting; and you will see over the country many mulattoes: but these are mere drops in the ocean of this dark question; and we are still centuries before that period which many very sincere men believe has already arrived.

"No one can tell how these things will modify themselves in time. There may be many bloody insurrections, aided by foreign enemies—or the

States may separate, and civil wars ensue—or servile wars may follow—or the blacks and whites may, in process of ages, by the combination of some moral and political miracle, learn to assimilate; but, in the mean time, I suspect the present generation can do nothing of any consequence to advance such an object. The blacks, who form our labouring population, are so deplorably ignorant, and so vicious, that in almost every instance where freedom has been given to them, they have shown how unfit they are to make a right use of it. The practice of manumission is, in consequence, every where discouraged, and in many places rendered by law impossible, except in cases of high public service."

Slavery, then, according to this gentleman, so far from being a benefit, is a very great evil in every sense of the word. All practical men, he assured me, admitted that the amount of work done by the slaves, generally speaking, is the very lowest possible, and of the worst quality; for since the fear of the lash is their chief motive to exertion, so every art which ingenuity, uncontrolled by any considerations of truth, can devise, is put in force to evade their assigned tasks.

In talking of emancipation, people are apt to forget various little difficulties which stand in the way. In the first place, the slaves are, to all intents and

purposes, the property of the whites. They have been legally acquired, they are held legally, and the produce of their labour forms the rightful fortune of their masters. To enter the warehouses of the Planters, and rob them of their rice or cotton, would not be one whit more unjust than taking away the slaves whose labour brings it out of the ground. Suppose, however, that difficulty removed, and that a compensation could be provided for the slaveholder, what is to become of the liberated negroes? What is to be done with two millions of ignorant persons, brought up, as their fathers and ancestors were, in bodily and mental bondage,—who have acquired habits of thinking and feeling suitable to that state, but totally unfit for any other? It is said to be less difficult to make a slave of a freeman, than to raise a slave to a just knowledge of freedom. And certainly experience in America gives no reason to hope that this maxim is there reversed. The mere act of breaking the chains will not do. The rivets that have so long held down the understanding cannot be driven out, till some contrivance be found which shall at the same time eradicate all memory of the past, and all associations with the present state of the world, from the minds not of the blacks alone, but also of the whites. If we examine this matter closely, we shall find the difficulty increased by discovering, that a

slave is, strictly speaking, a pauper both in his person and his intellects; for while he is fed and clothed by others, he is likewise supplied with thoughts and motives to action—such as they are!—not from the spontaneous or regulated impulse of his own faculties, but by the superior—I may say exclusive, will of his master. This is no exaggeration. It has always been so, and must long remain thus.

How is it possible, then, if all these things be taken into consideration, to suppose that people so very differently circumstanced can be admitted at once to the common privileges of freedom? Or, how, on the other hand, can it be expected that the masters of these slaves, who, like their fathers before them, have derived their whole substance from this source,—who look to it as a provision for their descendants,—and who know that their title is strictly a legal one, can be willing to allow of such interference as shall have a direct tendency to withdraw from them the whole sum and substance of their fortunes?

Some people may suppose I am fighting with men of straw, set up only to be knocked down, and that notions so unreasonable as these cannot enter seriously into any man's mind. But the contrary is too generally the case, and was at one time, indeed, my own view of the matter. At all events, be this as it may, the Southern planters, who have

the power completely in their hands, seem resolved to maintain the present system; and I am quite sure they will maintain it inviolate, in spite of their own admission that it is a grievous evil, and certainly in spite of all attempts to compel them to change it.

This melancholy prospect, nevertheless, is not altogether without a gleam of hope, as I had the satisfaction of discovering when I pushed my enquiries further. By gradually acquiring a more extensive knowledge of the facts of the case under many different forms, I was enabled, I trust, to escape from the influence of enthusiasm or of paradox on the one hand, and of strong, and often angry passions and interests on the other. To steer a fair course in the midst of such a strange kind of moral and political navigation is a hard task for any traveller, and doubly so for one to whom the subject is entirely new.

On the 4th of March we performed a round of sight-seeing at Charleston, by visiting in the course of the morning the Orphan Asylum, the Work House, the Poor House, the Jail, besides examining an extensive rice mill. It is not possible to describe all these institutions with the minuteness which their importance would seem to require; and, indeed, my object in visiting them was more to gain a general acquaintance with the habits

of the people amongst whom I was mixing, and their ways of thinking, than to investigate closely the particular objects which they were always ready most kindly to bring under my notice. When men are mounted on their own favourite hobbies, they are far more apt to let themselves out, as it is called, and to betray the real state of their thoughts and feelings, than at any other moment, when perhaps they may be on their guard. I do not mean that I had any desire to watch or spy out things which people wished to conceal;—quite the contrary. I merely tried to get hold of them at those moments when their habitual reserve was merged so completely in the interest of their own especial topics, that they themselves were anxious to communicate the information required, exactly as it stood, uncoloured by any studied descriptions, got up with a view to the honour and glory of the nation—a vice to which the people of all countries are more or less prone in speaking to a stranger.

Our first visit was to a Rice Mill, where I learnt that the grains of this plant grow on separate pedicles, or little fruit stalks, springing from the main stalk. The whole head forms what a botanist would call a spiked panicle; that is, something between a spike like wheat, and a panicle like oats. From these pedicles the rice must be separated by the

hand-flail, as no machinery has yet been devised for effecting this purpose. The next process is to detach the outer husk, which clings to the grain with great pertinacity. This is done by passing the rice between a pair of mill-stones, removed to a considerable distance from each other. The inner pellicle, or film, which envelopes the grain, is removed by trituration in mortars under pestles weighing from 250 to 300 pounds. These pestles consist of upright bars, shod with iron, which being raised up by the machinery to the height of several feet, are allowed to fall plump down upon the rice, the particles of which are thus rubbed against one another till the film is removed. It is now thoroughly winnowed, and being packed in casks holding about 600 pounds each, is ready for distribution over all parts of the world.

Rice with the husk on, or what is technically called Paddy—a word borrowed from India—will keep fresh and good for a much longer time than after it has undergone the two processes above described. Besides which, prepared rice is apt to become dusty, either from exposure or from rubbing about in the carriage, on board ship, and in the warehouses on both sides of the Atlantic. These facts recently suggested to some enterprising capitalists to bring it to England in the shape of

paddy, and there to detach the husk. This experiment has been completely successful, as I can testify from my own ample experience; for I have frequently, since my return, eaten rice managed in this way by Messrs Lucas and Ewbank of London, as fresh in taste and in appearance as any I met with in South Carolina.

The Orphan Asylum of Charleston, like all such institutions when well managed, is a most interesting sight, however questionable the policy may be, which, by holding out artificial means of subsistence to families, gives a hurtful degree of stimulus to the increase of population, already but too apt to run into excess. It may seem absurd to talk of over-population in America, but I found at every one of the great towns on their 'sea board,' the evil of redundancy in this respect grievously complained of. In the back woods, it is a different affair; but the temptations to remain amidst the comparative luxuries of the coast are so great, that pauperism and destitution of various kinds are fast becoming heavy loads upon the public purse of all the States bordering on the Atlantic.

While looking at this Orphan Asylum, my attention was called to some curious features of American society, which contradistinguish it from that of old countries. All the world in that busy land is more or less on the move, and as the

whole community is made up of units, amongst which there is little of the principle of cohesion, they are perpetually dropping out of one another's sight, in the wide field over which they are scattered. Even the connexions of the same family are soon lost sight of—the children glide away from their parents, long before their manhood ripens;—brothers and sisters stream off to the right and left, mutually forgetting one another, and being forgotten by their families. Thus, it often happens, that the heads of a household die off, or wander away, no one knows where, and leave children, if not quite destitute, at least dependent on persons whose connexion and interest in them are so small, that the public eventually is obliged to take care of them, from the impossibility of discovering any one whose duty it is to give them a home. At Charleston, Savannah, and other parts of the country where the yellow fever occurs frequently, and where that still more dreadful curse of America—spirit-drinking—prevails, to at least as great an excess as in the other States, it very often happens that children are left, at the end of the sickly season, without any relations, or natural protectors at all. Of course, I speak now of the poorer inhabitants, part of whom are made up of emigrants, either from foreign countries, or from other parts of America. It seems, indeed, to be the propensity of needy

persons in all countries to flock to great cities, where they generally aggravate in a great degree their own evils and those of the city.

The wealthier inhabitants of these towns, though they cannot interfere to prevent such things, are universally ready, not only with their money, but with their personal exertions, to relieve the distress of their less fortunate fellow creatures; and I must say, for the honour of the Americans, that nothing can be more energetic than the way in which they set about the establishment and maintenance of their public charities. Some of these institutions may possibly be questionable in their good effects on society, but there is never any deficiency of zeal or liberality in their support.

The Workhouse, which we next visited, is a sort of Bridewell, where several parties of offenders were at work on the tread-wheel—the only one which I saw in action in America, and with no great effect, I was told. It seems, indeed, an essential part of the system of slavery, that the lash should be used as a means of enforcing obedience. But as the disagreeable nature of this discipline prevents the master from administering it at home, the offending slave is sent to the Workhouse with a note and a piece of money, on delivering which he receives so many stripes, and is sent back again.

In a free country, it may be useful to remem-

ber, the whole population enjoy the common protection of the laws; every one being subjected, if he offend, to the same penalties. But in a slave-holding country, an immense mass of people—the entire labouring class—are deprived of the advantages of the law, while they are exempted from none of its rigours. In a free country, accordingly, the laws are the supreme authority;—but in such a country as I am now alluding to, this authority, as far as the Blacks are concerned, is usurped, or, at all events, is virtually delegated by the laws to the masters, who, in most cases, are obliged to act as judge, jury, and executioner. From their decision the slave has no appeal, except in cases of rare enormity. Thus the masters, in point of fact, possess almost the exclusive administration of the laws, as far as concerns their slaves.

This arrangement, though it be most painful to think upon, and ten times more painful to witness, was described to me, and I much fear with justice, as being absolutely indispensable to the permanence of the system. At least I was often assured by sensible men, that any considerable modification of it, in principle, or in practice, would speedily bring about anarchy, insurrection, bloodshed, and all the horrors of a servile war.

It would have required a much longer residence on the spot than I could afford, with many addi-

tional sources of information, which I did not possess, to have enabled me to say how far this stern discipline was necessary to the peace of the country. In the meantime it does exist in the manner I state, to the fullest extent, and I leave it to the candour of any rational American to say, whether, in the whole range of paradox, there is to be found a greater absurdity than the attempt to set up a population so governed, as at all comparable to that of a country like Great Britain.

In the jail there were no separate sleeping births for the prisoners, who appeared to pass their days and nights in idleness and free communication. At one part of the prison I saw several small cells for different descriptions of convicts, who, however, had no labour to perform. The jailor told me, that though he never put more than one white man into these places, the blacks came so thick upon him, he was often obliged to put in two at a time.

In the court-yard of the jail, there were scattered about no fewer than 300 slaves, mostly brought from the country for sale, and kept there at 20 cents, or about tenpence a-day, penned up like cattle, till the next market day. The scene was not unlike what I suppose the encampment of a wild African horde to be—such as I have heard Major Denham describe. Men, women, and chil-

dren, of all ages, were crowded together in groups, or seated in circles, round fires, cooking their messes of Indian corn or rice. Clothes of all colours were hung up to dry on the wall of the prison, coarse and ragged, while the naked children were playing about quite merrily, unconscious, poor little wretches! alike of their present degradation, and their future life of bondage.

On the balcony along with us, stood three or four slave dealers, overlooking the herd of human victims below, and speculating upon the qualities of each. The day was bright and beautiful, and there was in this curious scene no appearance of wretchedness, except what was imparted to it by reflection from our own minds.

CHAPTER VIII.

We left Charleston on the 6th of March, 1828, in a clear frosty morning, and slept at Jacksonburgh, a scattered little village, on the right or southern bank of the Edisto, a river of some magnitude, running with more velocity than any stream we had crossed since leaving the St Lawrence. We passed over in a scow or flat-bottomed boat, common in that part of the country, which was drawn across by means of a stout hawser or rope stretched from side to side. When the boat was in the middle of the passage, with the water gushing furiously against her broadside, I could not help thinking of the awkward scrape we should have been in had the line broken, for in that case the current would inevitably have swept us down to the sea.

There being still an hour's daylight after we reached our night's quarters, I rigged up the Camera Lucida, and made a sketch of an immense

live oak-tree. I am no artist, and even if I were, should still prefer, on these occasions, using this accurate instrument, instead of trusting to the unassisted eye. Pictorial effect, it will be observed, is not what is wanted in the sketches of a traveller, but rather strict accuracy of outline. The Camera Lucida accomplishes both outline and shade, with so much ease and certainty, that I have often wondered why it is not more used. It has always appeared to me that the feeblest correct markings, as they are called, of any distant place, are far more satisfactory to look at, than the most highly finished drawing, in the composition of which, the fancy of the artist has had some share. There is, no doubt, considerable difficulty in using the Camera for the first day or two, but this yields to a small amount of diligence and perseverance, after which, considerably more work may be done in a given interval, than could be accomplished by the same, or even a much superior hand, if not aided by this instrument. Its use, therefore, while it ensures great accuracy, not only saves time, but patience; for it relieves the draughtsman from the troublesome responsibility of perspective, and every thing relating to form and proportion is done to his hand.

Next day we proceeded to the plantation of one of our obliging Charleston friends, who, in the

style of hospitality universal in the South, had begged us to make it a resting place. We had travelled 30 miles the first day, and went only 20 the next; for having freed ourselves from the despotism of stage coach drivers, we hired a carriage to go at our own pace—an advantage not always to be procured in America, but of which we gladly availed ourselves whenever we could.

There was still a touch of hoar frost on the grass, as we drove from our night's quarters and entered the forest. The air was of that pleasant temperature which is not coldness, but not warmth, making shawls and great-coats agreeable, and the promise of a higher sun very welcome. Our road lay through pine barrens, interspersed at most places with underwood and creepers in endless entanglement—all in flower. We noticed in particular, white and yellow jessamine, honeysuckles of various colours, multitudes of full-blown white roses, laurels, myrtles, laurestinus, holly, and numerous other shrubs, the names of which were unknown to us. These were mixed with an occasional aloe, and here and there with a fan-shaped, dwarfish member of the palm tribe, the name of which I am ashamed to have forgotten, for I learned it more than once. Another very tropical-looking plant peeped out occasionally from the bushes; it is called on the spot, the bayonet palmetto, from each

division of its broad leaf being in the form of that weapon. These divisions, by radiating from the centre of the leaf, gave it the appearance of the stars one sees in armories; or still more like the circular fans of the Chinese, made, if I recollect rightly, with some plant of the same family.

Pines were not the only trees in this forest scene, for we came to many fine live oaks, scattered about the wood, not very unlike the oaks of England in their branching character, but dissimilar in leaf, that of the live oak being small and pointed; a circumstance which takes, I think, from the beauty of the tree, by giving it a spotty, mottled character, less umbrageous and massy than its namesake of the Old Country.

It was a dead calm when we started, and a haziness which filled the air, caused, probably, by some distant part of the forest being on fire, gave a softened effect to the distant objects seen through the openings, or glades, which we came to every now and then, where a portion of soil richer than the rest, or the course of a river, or both combined, had invited the settler to pause in his wanderings. At other times we could see but a little way, except directly before or behind us, where the road went off in a straight line towards its vanishing point, and made us feel as if we had been driving along a great tube, rather than a public highway.

The copper-coloured rays of the sun—thus tinged by the haze—scarcely reached half way down to us, but fell pleasantly enough upon the stems of the tall, straight pine-trees, marking them here and there with patches of great lustre, rendered particularly striking from being seen against the dark forest behind. The eye was bewildered in a mass of columns receding far back, and diminishing in the perspective to mere threads, till they were lost in the gloom. The ground was every where perfectly flat, and the trees rose from it in a direction so exactly perpendicular, and so entirely without lower branches, that an air of architectural symmetry was imparted to the forest, by no means unlike that of some gothic cathedrals.

At other spots further on, where the trees were less thickly clustered together, the scene was far more lively. The ground was there chequered, or rather streaked over, with such rays of the sun as could make their way through the roof of foliage, rendered still less pervious by a singular species of moss, suspended, not in graceful festoons, but in ugly bunches, or skeins, like so much hemp, from the branches of most of the trees. In the low and marshy regions of the South, this wiry sort of moss, which appears to be the rank produce of a permanent over-supply of moisture and heat, grows in vast profusion. At times we met with it in such

quantity, that it enveloped the branches and leaves completely, and hung down in long ringlets, of a mouse grey colour, quite over the trees, as if the forest had been covered with enormous spiders' webs.

The road—as roads go in that country—was excellent, and though seasoned with an occasional touch of Corduroy, was upon the whole agreeable. The carriage-way stood generally three or four feet above the swamps. In winter, those parts of the country are healthy enough; but in August and September, our driver informed us, a visit thereabouts is sudden death. It required, indeed, some faith in his assurances to put us at ease, even now in spring, when passing through such deadly looking spots, where a green slimy coating was just beginning to form on the surface of the marshes, and even upon some of the sluggish creeks which intersect the ground in all directions.

On this day, in latitude about 32° 20′ N. we saw the first specimen of rice cultivation. It extends much farther north—I forget how far—but this was the first we fell in with. I recognised, at a glance, my old friends of the East, where the straight embankments, separating the half-drowned fields, cut across by narrow canals or trenches, give a very peculiar and formal character to this amphibious sort of agriculture. About noon the sun became so disagreeably hot, that on coming to

an open and cleared part of the country, we looked out sharply for our friend's plantation. We had already made sufficient acquaintance with these hospitable planters to justify our hopes of finding very good things in their country seats. As yet, however, we had not visited any of them at home, so that we were quite in doubt what this house might prove, especially as the proprietor was absent, and our experience had not led us to think very highly of negro service, even when the master's eye was over it. The first glimpse of the mansion reassured us considerably, as we drove through a neat gate into a lawn, along a nicely gravelled approach, to the house, in front of which lay a small sheet of water, with an island in the middle of it, shaded by a willow tree.

The steps of the carriage were let down by the servants, who came out before the bell was rung. The head driver, Solomon by name, welcomed us to the country, placing himself, the house, and all which belonged to it, quite at our disposal. "Such," he said, "were the orders he had received from Charleston."

After we were settled, I dropped some hints about dinner. "O yes, master, surely. What hour master choose to take it? All the rooms ready for you—hope you stay long time, sir?"

At all events, we resolved to stay some hours,

though previously we had been in doubt as to this point. On going up stairs, we found ourselves in the most comfortable suite of apartments we had seen in America; the floors nicely carpetted, the walls painted and papered, and the windows made to go up and down. From the drawing-room, we could walk into a verandah or piazza, from which, by a flight of steps, we found our way into a flower garden and shrubbery, rich with orange trees, laurels, myrtles, and weeping willows, and here and there a great spreading aloe. From the top of the bank, on which the house stood, we could see over a hedge into the rice fields which lay beyond, and stretched over the plain for several miles, their boundary line being the black edge of the untouched forest. One of the windows was wellnigh choked up with the leaves of an orange tree, on which, for the first time in our journey, we beheld this golden fruit growing in the centre of a clustre of blossoms, and close to it two others on the same tree, quite green. They were bitter, indeed, but still they were oranges flourishing in the open air, and lending their aid, with many other circumstances in the landscape, great and small, to tell us we had reached a southern climate.

All these things, combined with Solomon's promise of showing us over the plantation, the alacrity

of the servants, and the snug air of the whole establishment, decided us to make the most of a good thing, while it was within our reach. We therefore ordered the horses to be put up till next morning, and walked out with our new friend, to see the slave village of the plantation.

It appears that when the negroes go to the field in the morning, it is the custom to leave such children behind, as are too young to work. Accordingly, we found a sober old matron in charge of three dozen shining urchins, collected together in a house near the centre of the village. Over the fire hung a large pot of hominy, a preparation of Indian corn, making ready for the little folks' supper, and a very merry, happy-looking party they seemed. The parents, and such children as are old enough to be useful, go out to work at daybreak, taking their dinner with them to eat on the ground. They have another meal towards the close of the day after coming home. Generally, also, they manage to cook up a breakfast; but this must be provided by themselves, out of their own earnings, during those hours which it is the custom, in all plantations, to allow the negroes to work on their own account.

It was pleasant to hear, that in most parts of the country, the negroes of America had the whole of Sunday allowed them, exccpting, as I afterwards

learnt, at certain seasons of the year, and in certain sections of Louisiana; for example, where sugar is cultivated, it is occasionally of such consequence to use expedition, that no cessation of labour is permitted. Generally speaking, the planters, who seem well aware of the advantage of not exacting too much service from their slaves, consider the intermission of one day, at the least, in the week, as a source rather of profit than of loss. A specific task for each slave is accordingly pointed out daily by the overseer; and as soon as this is completed in a proper manner, the labourer may go home to work at his own piece of ground, or tend his pigs and poultry, or play with his children,—in a word, to do as he pleases. The assigned task is sometimes got over by two o'clock in the day, though this is rare, as the work generally lasts till four or five o'clock. I often saw gangs of negroes at work till sunset.

We went into several of the cottages, which were uncommonly neat and comfortable, and might have shamed those of many countries I have seen. Each hut was divided into small rooms or compartments, fitted with regular bed places; besides which, they had all chimneys and doors, and some, though only a few of them, possessed the luxury of windows. I counted 28 huts, occupied by 140

souls, or about 5 in each. This number included 60 children.

On returning to dinner, we found every thing in perfect order. The goodness of the attendance in this house, together with the comfort, cleanliness, and cheerfulness of the whole establishment, satisfied me, that by a proper course of discipline, slaves may be made good servants—a fact of which, I confess, I had begun to question the possibility. Regularity in arrangement—good sense and good temper—an exact knowledge of what ought to be done, with sufficient determination of character to enforce punctual obedience, are requisites, I suspect, more indispensably necessary in slave countries, than in places where the service is voluntary.

It will easily be understood, indeed, that one of the greatest practical evils of slavery, arises from persons who have no command over themselves, being placed, without any control, in command of others. Hence passion, without system, must very often take the place of patience and method; and the lash—that prompt, but terrible, instrument of power—and one so dangerous in irresponsible hands—cuts all the Gordian knots of this difficulty, and, right or wrong, forces obedience by the stern agency of fear, the lowest of all motives to action. The consequence, I believe, invariably is, that

where service is thus, as it were, beaten out of men, the very minimum of work, in the long run, is obtained. Judicious slave-holders, therefore, whether they be humane persons or not, generally discover, sooner or later, that the best policy by far, is to treat these unfortunate dependants with as much kindness as the nature of the discipline will allow.

The gentlemen of the South sometimes assert, that the slave population are rather happier than the labouring classes in the northern parts of their own Union, and much better off than the peasantry of England. There is no good purpose served by advancing such pretensions. They are apt to excite irritation, sometimes ridicule; and while they retard the cause of improvement, substantiate nothing in the argument, except the loss of temper. It signifies little to talk of the poor laws of England, or the pauperism in the great cities on the American coast; for, after all, such allusions apply to a small portion only of the labouring classes; whereas, in a slave-holding country, the whole working population are included in this humiliating description. For, as I before observed, it can be shown that a slave is merely a pauper—and a very thankless pauper too. Must he not be supported—and is he not in fact supported by others? Does not his situation superadd to the

mischievous effects of ill-administered poor laws, many collateral evils which it is difficult to separate from the nature of slavery? Have not ignorance, irreligion, falsehood, dishonesty in dealing, and laziness, become nearly as characteristic of the slave, as the colour of his skin? And when these caste marks, as they may almost be called, are common to the whole mass of the labouring population of the States in question, it is certainly not quite fair to place them on a level with the free New Englanders of America, or the bold peasantry of Great Britain! That the slaves, taken in the aggregate, are better fed than many individual poor families in Great Britain, or in Ireland, may be true; but this holds as well in the case of cattle, and the fact proves no more in the one case, than in the other, for it is obvious enough that both cattle and slaves are fed with the same view—the mere maintenance of their physical force.

I have not only heard this doctrine insisted upon in company—that the slaves are better off than the freemen alluded to—but I have seen it maintained in grave legislative resolutions. I must say, however, that nothing appeared to me so indiscreet, or more thoroughly fraught, unintentionally perhaps, with satire upon the whole system of public affairs in that country.

So long as men, women, and children, are kept

in ignorance, under the positive mandate of the law —and are driven to the fields to work like cattle— so long as husbands and wives, and mothers and children, are liable to be sold, and actually are sold every day, to separate masters—and so long as no slave can select his place of residence, his task-master, or his occupation, or can give testimony in a court of justice, or legally hold any property, or exercise, by inherent birthright, any of the other functions of a reasonable creature—it certainly is very impolitic, to say the least of it, in the gentlemen of a country where the population are so circumstanced, to force the rest of the world upon such comparisons. The cause of the planters of the South may have, and I really think has, excellent ground to stand upon, if they would but keep to it steadily. But the slave-holders weaken the whole foundation of their reasoning by such hollow pretences, as no reasonable person, even amongst themselves, can seriously maintain.

After dinner we strolled over the plantation, under our friend Solomon's direction, and a most intelligent and agreeable guide he proved,—more so, indeed, than it had ever occurred to us any slave-driver could possibly be. The imagination pictures such a character flourishing his whip, and so far it is true, for this symbol of office is never laid down—but he made no use of it during

our stay, and he appeared to be any thing but stern or tyrannical in his deportment, to the people under his orders. We found the principal body of the negroes making a dam to keep back the waters of an adjacent river, which had invaded some of the rice fields. The negroes were working in a long string, exactly like a row of ants, with baskets of earth on their heads, under the superintendence of two under drivers, likewise blacks. This labour appeared to be heavy, and as the day declined, some of the poor people, especially the women, looked tired enough.

This plantation, at the time of our visit, consisted of 270 acres of rice, 50 of cotton, 80 of Indian corn, and 12 of potatoes, besides some minor plots for vegetables; the whole being cultivated by eighty working hands. A shovel plough is used at certain seasons for weeding; but all the essential and laborious work of preparing the soil, as well as that of sowing and reaping the crops, is done exclusively by hand.

Next day we left our hospitable friend's plantation, and proceeded to the southward. We had no difficulty in again finding shelter, for the considerate people of Charleston had supplied us amply with introductions, enjoining us, at the same time, to consider every house we came to, as open to receive us, if we had any wish to occupy it. An

experienced traveller on this road, had given us a hint where we should be best entertained, and we accordingly drove up to a very promising establishment, which fully answered the description given of it. The master of the place was walking about the grounds, but the servants had orders, they said, to receive us, and begged us to walk in.

The day being hot and calm, all the doors and windows were thrown open, and we walked through the house to a pleasant garden, overhanging the Combahee River, flowing majestically past, in a direction from the sea. Our host, who soon joined us, explained that the current we saw, was caused by the flood tide, though the sea was distant full 30 miles. This ebb and flow of the rivers intersecting the level parts of South Carolina, is of the greatest consequence to the rice growers, as it enables them to irrigate their fields at the proper season, and in the proper quantity; an advantage which leads to the production of those magnificent crops, with which all the world is familiar.

During our stay at this extensive and skilfully managed plantation, we had an opportunity of being initiated into the mysteries of the cultivation of rice, the staple of Carolina. This grain is sown in rows, in the bottom of trenches made by slave labour entirely. These ridges lie about seventeen inches apart, from centre to centre. The rice

is put in with the hand, generally by women, and is never scattered, but cast so as to fall in a line. This is done about the 17th of March. By means of flood-gates, the water is then permitted to flow over the fields, and to remain on the ground five days, at the depth of several inches. The object of this drenching is to sprout the seeds, as it is technically called. The water is next drawn off, and the ground allowed to dry, until the rice has risen to what is termed four leaves high, or between three and four inches. This requires about a month. The fields are then again overflowed, and they remain submerged for upwards of a fortnight, to destroy the grass and weeds. These processes bring matters to the 17th of May, after which the ground is allowed to remain dry till the 15th of July, during which interval it is repeatedly hoed, to remove such weeds as have not been effectually drowned, and also to loosen the soil. The water is then, for the last time, introduced, in order that the rice may be brought to maturity—and it actually ripens while standing in the water. The harvest commences about the end of August, and extends into October. It is all cut by the male slaves, who use a sickle, while the women make it up into bundles. As it seems that no ingenuity has yet been able to overcome the difficulty of thrashing the grains out by machinery, without breaking

them, the whole of this part of the process is done with hand flails in a court-yard.

The cultivation of rice was described to me as by far the most unhealthy work in which the slaves were employed; and, in spite of every care, that they sank under it in great numbers. The causes of this dreadful mortality, are the constant moisture and heat of the atmosphere, together with the alternate floodings and dryings of the fields, on which the negroes are perpetually at work, often ankle deep in mud, with their bare heads exposed to the fierce rays of the sun. At such seasons every white man leaves the spot, as a matter of course, and proceeds inland to the high grounds; or, if he can afford it, he travels northward to the springs of Saratoga, or the Lakes of Canada.

Each plantation is furnished with a mill; and in most cases that fell in my way, the planters contrived to make this and every thing else, or very nearly every thing else which they require, on their own estates. All the blacksmiths' and carpenters' work, for example, was done by the slaves of each plantation; nor did it appear, from all I could learn, that there was any deficiency of intellect in the negro, so far as these mechanical operations went. The contrary is stoutly maintained in the non-slave-holding States; but this, I think, is in some degree to be accounted for by the admitted

fact, of the free negro population—with which alone persons in the north are personally acquainted—being a degraded, dissolute class. But on a well regulated plantation, such as the one I am describing, where the proprietor is a man of sense, temper, and discrimination, and where he has somewhat more than a thousand slaves to choose from, the experiment—as to the lower walks of intellect, at least—has more fair play given it. The negroes themselves feel this very strongly, I was told, and whenever they are under the management of such a person as our judicious host, they exert themselves greatly from the hope of being distinguished. While he and I were in the act of discussing this topic, I happened to break the bolt joining the triple legs of the camp stool I used when drawing with the Camera Lucida. "Do you think, now," I said, "you have any man on your plantation who could repair this, for it is rather a nice matter?"

"O yes.—Cæsar! come here," he called out to the blacksmith. "Don't you see this bolt is broken—can you put it to rights?"

"I can, sir," was his answer; and though he was rather hurried, he executed the job in a very neat and business-like style. The rest of the party having walked on, I staid to have some conversation with Cæsar, whose correct acquaintance not only with his own mechanical operations, but with

many other things, surprised me a good deal, and I left the smithy, with my opinion of the whole black race raised in the scale by this trivial incident. Of such flimsy materials is prejudice built!

I think it right to mention, that as far as my own experience has gone, I have invariably noticed that precisely in proportion as the negro has a fair chance given him, so he proves himself equal in capacity to the white man. Perhaps the only place in the world where a black has, to all intents and purposes, an equal chance with the rest of mankind, is on board a ship-of-war. He is there subjected to the same discipline, has the same favour shown if he behaves well, and suffers a like punishment for the like faults. I think it is generally allowed in the English navy, that under like circumstances, black seamen are as useful and as trust-worthy as the rest of the crew. I am led to infer, also, from a recent American work—the Red Rover—that the author, who is a naval officer, agrees with me in this view of the matter. At all events, he makes his admirable seaman, 'Fid,' not superior, if equal, to his sable companion 'Guinea,'—both characters, however, being so exquisitely drawn, that it would almost be worth a landsman's while to make a voyage or two merely to understand them.

Generally speaking, though by no means always,

I found the most sensible planters of opinion, that there was not naturally and essentially any intellectual difference between the two races.

Our hospitable friend next showed us the slave village of his plantation, where every thing was neat and comfortable. In answer to our questions, he told us, that he interfered as little as possible with their domestic habits, except in matters of police. "We don't care what they do when their tasks are over—we lose sight of them till next day. Their morals and manners are in their own keeping. The men may have, for instance, as many wives as they please, so long as they do not quarrel about such matters."

I asked if they had any religion?

"I know little about that," he said; "there may perhaps be one or two methodists in a hundred. Preachers are never prevented, by me at least, from coming amongst the negroes, upon a distinct and express stipulation, however, that they do not interfere with the duties of the slaves, towards their master."

"Can any of them read and write?"

"Certainly none," he answered; "that is entirely contrary to usage here, and contrary to law in some places. Such things would only make them discontented with their lot, and in fact would be

quite repugnant to the whole system of slave discipline in this country."

Domestic slaves, he told me, were better fed and clothed, and generally better treated, than those employed out of doors; but, what was odd enough, he added, that every where the slaves preferred the field-work, chiefly, as far as I could learn, from its being definite in amount, which left them a certain portion of the day entirely to themselves. This privilege has become, virtually, a right in many places; and so far, is a spark of freedom in their dark night of bondage; whereas the house slave, from being liable to every call, early and late, sometimes fancies himself less free. A negro, however, who has been regularly bred in that line, generally becomes so much attached to the children and to the other members of the family, and falls so completely into the ways of the house, that he would feel it an intolerable hardship to be sent to the field-work.

The laws direct that the overseer of the plantation shall always be a white man. He is a very important personage, as may be supposed, since much of the success of an estate, as well as the happiness or misery of the negroes—which appears to be nearly the same thing—depend upon his character. The details of superintendence pass under his eye, and he has the power of directing punish-

ments, which ought always to be inflicted in his presence on the spot, by the driver. It is very disagreeable to think of such things, but it is obvious to every one who has reflected at all on this painful subject, that there must be a certain amount of prompt and vigorous discipline exercised over people who are influenced by so few of the ordinary motives to exertion.

It is the popular fashion in America, and I think elsewhere, to abuse these overseers as a class. But none of my enquiries led me to think so ill of them by any means as I had heard them reported. Their interest, as well as that of the planters, in the long run, is, unquestionably, to use the slaves well. An overseer who acquires a character for undue severity, is much scouted, and sooner or later discovers that his services are not valued or sought after, merely because he produces less effective work than a more judicious person would do. Negroes, like many other people, may be driven to perform a certain portion of labour; but as no amount of tyranny can carry things permanently beyond that point, custom seems to have established, in the slave-holding States of America, a particular method of treatment, which is found to produce the greatest result. I have much satisfaction, accordingly, in stating, that after many careful enquiries, I have no reason to suppose un-

necessary severity is by any means general in America.

The idea of cultivating the sea-coast, and indeed any part of the low districts of the Southern States, by white labour, I regret to say, appears quite visionary; and I only mention it because such notions are sometimes brought forward by the opponents of slavery. Every thing I heard in the South respecting the climate, showed this to be impossible. Whether my informants were planters, or merchants, or medical men, or strangers, or advocates for slavery, or the contrary, one uniform opinion was expressed on this point. There seems, therefore, to be no choice left between abandoning the fertile countries in question, or having them cultivated by negroes.

Over considerable tracts of some of the United States, such as the northern parts of Virginia, where the soil is poor, the slaves do not reproduce by their labour as much as they consume in the shape of food. Consequently, they are a source of loss to their masters, or rather they would be so, if other methods were not fallen upon to turn them to account. This state of things has been partly brought about by a curious circumstance, which would not strike one at first as being likely to cause so great an effect as I have been told it does. If human beings till the ground, and, at the same

time, are fed upon vegetable productions, the grain, or whatever it be which they eat, must, in order to be nutritive, be allowed to remain growing till it comes to maturity. In so doing, however, the soil is deteriorated in a manner which does not take place if cattle be fed off the same ground; because their food being green, is used at a stage antecedent to the period at which the scourging process, agriculturally speaking, begins. While the ground, therefore, is not injured by being grazed upon, it is liable to be worn out if tilled by slaves, whose food must be allowed to ripen.

Many fine-looking districts were pointed out to me in Virginia, formerly rich in tobacco and Indian corn, which had been completely exhausted by the production of crops for the maintenance of slaves. In thickly peopled countries, where great towns are at hand, the fertility of such soils may be recovered, and even improved, by manuring; but over the tracts of country I now speak of, no such advantages are within the farmer's reach.

If this state of things, instead of being local, were general over the Southern States, it is quite obvious that slavery must die a sort of natural death, as nobody would go on permanently maintaining negroes at a greater cost than the value of the crops they could be made to raise, over and above those necessary for their own maintenance. But whether this

be so or not, it is now useless to enquire, since a more ready and infinitely more profitable way has been found of escaping from the dilemma. The climate as well as the soil of the extreme Southern States, Georgia, Alabama, and Louisiana, together with the territory of Florida, are quite unlike those which are found in the northern districts of the slave-holding portion of the Union, such as Maryland, Virginia, and Kentucky. In the southern section, as the labour of the negro is highly productive, the settlers in that new and fertile country are willing to give large prices for slaves. A sure and profitable market is thus furnished for the sale of the blacks reared, in that express view, on the more northern plantations above described.

The new States bordering on the Gulf of Mexico, as well as those which are watered by the Mississippi, are at present the chief markets to which the slaves bred in the north are sent. But great numbers are also absorbed by South Carolina and Georgia, where the cultivation of rice thins the black population so fast as to render a constant fresh supply of negroes indispensable, in order to meet the increasing demand for that great staple production of the country. The enormous increased consumption of cotton, also, has brought down multitudes of negroes to turn up the fertile soils of those burning regions—the sea-island dis-

tricts—well known to commerce. The progress of sugar cultivation, in like manner, in the alluvial lands forming the vast delta of the Mississippi, is a further attraction to the slave-dealers, and must, like the others, long continue in operation as a productive field for slave labour. These combined causes have set a-going, and will probably keep in motion, for a long period of time to come, one of the most extensive slave-trades in the world, in the very heart of the United States.

I have no data to enable me to state the exact amount of this traffic, but it is undoubtedly very great. During certain seasons of the year, I am informed, all the roads, steam-boats, and packets, are crowded with troops of negroes on their way to the great slave markets of the South. As it is perfectly useless, however, merely to speculate on what might be desirable, we ought, if we wish to do good, fairly to look at the thing as it stands, in order to see what can be done to lessen an evil which it is utterly impossible to remove.

It is quite clear that the pecuniary interest of the slave-holders in the more northern districts, above alluded to, is to rear as many negroes as possible, since they are quite sure of a favourable market for them, so long as the crowds of fresh inhabitants in the new States of the South, who are daily bringing more capital, industry, high hopes, and

great determination, to bear upon the virgin soil of those regions, are unceasing in their demands for more labourers.

The ideas connected with a deliberate slave-trade were at first so revolting to the Americans, that, in most of the Southern legislatures, laws were passed forbidding the traffic; that is to say, rendering the open, notorious trade in human beings illegal. These laws were made in perfectly good faith, but, like the laws of other countries prohibiting the export of specie, or the import of silks, they were soon evaded, and having become utterly inefficient, were necessarily abandoned altogether, leaving the trade as free as that between the coast of Africa and the Brazils.

I ought to mention, that it was never at any time intended by the Governments of the Southern States, by these enactments against the importation of slaves, to prevent persons who came to settle there from bringing their own negroes with them, since, if it had been otherwise arranged, and that no settler could import his slaves, the ground must have remained uncultivated to this hour. The laws alluded to were directed against the mere thoroughpaced slave-trader. The permission, however, for new comers to import their own gangs of negroes opened so easy a door for evading the law, that the State legislatures, after a time, dis-

covered the inefficiency of their enactments, and gave up the point. This great internal slave-trade is carried on by sea as well as by land. I saw a brig from Baltimore, lying alongside of the Levée at New Orleans, with upwards of two hundred negroes on board. Her decks presented a scene which forcibly reminded me of Rio Janeiro. In the one case, however, the slaves were brought from the savage regions of Africa; in the other, from the very heart of a free country. To the poor negro the distinction is probably no great matter!

The Americans are perpetually taunting England with having entailed slavery upon their country. The charge indeed may be true, and there is no denying that it was every way disgraceful in the British Ministry of former times to thwart the wishes of the Colonists, if indeed they sincerely desired to avoid the incipient evil which has fallen so heavily upon their descendants. The whole case, however, as far as the two nations are concerned, has completely altered its character of late years, by the acquisition of Florida and Louisiana, countries which must be worked by slaves, or not at all; and still more by the introduction of Missouri into the Union as a State, where no such necessity on account of climate exists, or was even pretended to exist, but where slavery, nevertheless, has been

introduced by the solemn act of the National Legislature.

This scornful bandying of national recriminations, however, is, to say the least of it, quite unphilosophical—in fact, worse than useless—as it tends to irritate two countries who have no cause of quarrel. On the contrary, the Southern States of America and England really live under a common interest, arising from the mutual interchange of benefits, which need not be contaminated by any of those jealous rivalries, which are not so easily got rid of in the case of the Northern States..

In these and other discussions we passed our time very agreeably on the banks of the Combahee; but our kind host, not content with entertaining us sumptuously while we remained with him, in the true spirit of that useful hospitality which prevails in those countries, took care, that after we left him we should be well lodged every where on the road. The inns, he said, were not good—besides which, his friends would never forgive him, if he allowed strangers to go away without introductions.

On the 9th of March, we resumed our journey, passing on our way many pretty country seats belonging to the different planters between Charleston and Savannah. This district is fertilized by the waters of the numberless streams, great and small, which drain the rich State of South Carolina, of

which the river Edisto, the Salt Ketcher, the Coosawhatchie, and the Pocotaligo, are the most remarkable.

We drove cheerfully along, not doubting that we should light on our feet somewhere, as it never once occurred to us that the gentleman at whose house we had been recommended to take up our night's quarters could possibly be absent. But, lo and behold! on driving into the grounds, we learnt that the master of the establishment was from home.

"My master is gone to town—some days ago, sir," was the answer of the head servant.

"That is very unfortunate; we had hoped to stop here to-night," I said, with an air of disappointment.

The black groom of the chambers smiled most graciously at this imaginary difficulty of our starting, but made a private signal to the driver, who, from understanding the fashions of the country better than we did, had the trunks unstrapped before we could look round us. Our grinning friend, Dick, then marshalling the way, we found ourselves in two minutes delightfully settled, sole tenants of the plantation!

Next morning, on going away, I put a note for the owner of the house into the hands of the delighted Major-domo, to say how comfortably we

had been lodged, how attentive all his people had been, and how well accustomed they seemed to the offices of hospitality; for though we had taken them by surprise, we found every thing as completely provided for us as if a week's preparation had been made for our reception.

On approaching the river Savannah, which divides South Carolina from Georgia, we had to cross a long flat, as it is called, or swamp of alluvial matter, probably the bed of the Savannah river thousands of years ago. Here the road passed along a causeway of several miles in length, formed of transverse logs, the passage over which reminded us at every step that we were made of flesh and bones, and by no means of Indian rubber, according to the proposal of an ingenious speculator, whose project for the improvement of our animal economy often recurred to me during this rugged journey.

The showy town of Savannah, which stands at the height of about fifty feet above the river of the same name, on the very edge of the right or southern bank, is rendered particularly striking, when seen from the river, by several tall spires and other public buildings, either mingling pleasantly enough with the groves of trees planted in the streets, or standing boldly up against the sky above them.

We were much surprised, at Savannah, at the absence of verandahs or piazzas, those useful and ornamental appendages, so general at Charleston and most other places in the South. In all the streets and squares of Savannah, most of which are very tastefully laid out, numerous rows of the Pride-of-India-tree have been planted, which serve to shade the walks, and give quite a tropical look to the scene. The grand mistake, however, as it appears to me, in all the towns in the southern parts of the United States, is making the streets so wide, that little or no shade is afforded by the houses. They manage these things better in Italy and Spain; and the modern inhabitants of Georgia and Louisiana would have done well to imitate the founders of New Orleans, where the European plan has been followed, I think, with great advantage.

Savannah, though obviously the principal city in the State of Georgia, is not the capital; it being the custom all over America, to select for the seat of Government some place as near the geographical centre of the State as possible. In many cases that situation, though it looks neater on the map, is not nearly so accessible, or so convenient, as one upon the sea-coast. On this principle, Lisbon, strictly speaking, is more centrical to Portugal than Madrid is to Spain. And New York would certainly be a better capital for the United

States than Washington, or its own State capital, Albany.

Instead of seeing my way better as I went on, I found my ideas on the intricate and formidable subject of slavery becoming rather less clear than I fancied they had formerly been. The different accounts which different people gave me of the actual condition of the negroes, sorely distracted every general conclusion I ventured to draw; while a multiplicity of local circumstances, daily coming to my knowledge, cast adrift all my own theories on the subject. I daresay that I listened to nearly as many methods of remedying this evil as I heard speculative cures for the frightful mischiefs incident to the Presidential election. Almost every gentleman I met with in the South, had some project or other for mitigating the national oppression arising from this incubus, as they frequently called it, or believed he had discovered some nostrum for removing a great portion of its bad effects. But I never met a man who was hardy enough to suppose it could be entirely removed. To the hideous moral evils that pervade this dismal subject, must be added a long catalogue of diseases and death, which thin the ranks of the unhappy sufferers, and drain the profits of their owners. A medical gentleman at Savannah told me that pulmonary complaints are those which prove most fatal to the

negroes, especially to such as cultivate the rice-grounds. The Blacks, he said, are not nearly so liable to intermittents as the Whites are, but pleurisy is more frequent amongst them, and generally proves fatal. On the cotton plantations, according to his account, the negroes are generally healthy, —all the work being of a dry kind; but on rice-estates, the hospitals are often quite crowded in autumn. He told me of a friend of his who had lost 40 out of 300 slaves last year.

The sickness is brought on chiefly by circumstances inevitably connected with the cultivation of rice, the negroes being almost constantly working in the water, or ankle deep in mud, ditching, drawing, or weeding, or turning over wet ground. They are sometimes overworked, in order to 'meet the season,' as it is called, and upon these occasions they sink rapidly under their complicated hardships. The slaves, I was told, are so well aware of the amount of work which they are competent to perform, that the imposition of a greater task seldom produces a greater final result. If additional labour, beyond the ordinary measure, be assigned them, they first become sulky, then sick, often droop and die, or, if not, they are seized with despair and run away, only to be caught again and punished. Thus they are sometimes, but not often, worried and harassed, to no good purpose. All

experience, therefore, I was assured, went to prove that moderate tasks, strict superintendence, with uniform kindness, in the ordinary style of the country, was by far the best way to get useful service out of the negroes—it being always borne in mind, that a slave will work as little as he can. I was much gratified by finding that these generous and politic principles were very generally acted upon by the American planters. The exceptions—it was curious to hear—are most frequently found amongst the new comers from the Northern States of the Union, or from England—those very persons who, on their first arrival, have had least patience with slavery under any modification! People who are inconsiderate enough to abuse a whole system without taking the pains to distinguish between what is inevitable, and what is remediable, are not likely to be more reflecting when these distinctions become apparent.

I made particular enquiries as to the fact of parents and children being separated, as well as husbands and wives, when families are sold. And I was glad to find, that this is discouraged as much as possible, not only as a matter of feeling and propriety, but as a matter of interest.

I was sometimes amused, if this be a proper word to apply to such things, on observing how adroitly the inhabitants of the different States in America

shifted the blame off their own shoulders to those of their neighbours. The Virginians told sad stories of the way in which the South Carolinians used their negroes. But when I reached that State I heard such language as follows:—

"Wait till you go into Georgia," said the planters of Carolina, "there you will see what the slaves suffer."

On reaching Savannah, however, the ball was tossed along to the westward.

"O, sir, you have no idea how ill the slaves are used in Louisiana; there, amongst the sugar plantations, they have to work day and night, Sundays and all!"

The real truth, however, I believe to be this: Men of sense and feeling use their slaves well in every State, not only because it is much more agreeable to be kind than cruel to them, but because the pecuniary advantages are always greater. Men who have no sense or command of temper, are sure to disregard the feelings of those over whom they have such unlimited authority. Consequently, wherever there is slavery, there must be more or less cruelty and injustice, if—as in America—the checks to the intemperate use of irresponsible power are merely nominal. But I have no idea that Georgia is worse in this respect than Virginia, or Louisiana than either. The laws in those States

vary, it is true; but, really, nothing is to be made out in these respects from the written laws, since, under any system of legislative arrangement in America, as far as I could learn, the negroes must, in every case, be left almost entirely to the control of their masters, or with no appeal that deserves the name.

The laws of the different States of America relating to slavery, have been published in a separate form at Philadelphia, by the party who are opposed to the whole system;—and certainly a more singular volume, or one more inconsistent with the principles so much cried up in that republic, cannot well be conceived. But it would answer no good purpose to make any extracts from the book in question. In the first place, I am not sufficiently familiar with the subject to distinguish the laws which are really in force, from those which have become a dead letter. In the next, I do not think these, or any other laws likely to be made in America, can have much influence on the actual state of the question. This may seem a strange assertion to make, but its truth will readily appear, when the following considerations are attended to.

Every person who has examined this question on the spot, knows that any system of measures calculated to be useful to the negroes, must not

only be gradual and consistent, but, in order to its being adopted at all, or even tried, it must be conformable to the interests, the prejudices, and I may add, to the habitual tastes, manners, and customs, of the planters and other white inhabitants of that class, because in their hands—and in their hands alone—the whole power is placed. It is also obvious, that no such system of uniform measures can be conceived to originate, still less to be maintained in wholesome operation, through a period of years, under a succession of legislatures, which are not only chosen annually, but are liable, as we know by experience, to a constant rotation of new members, taken exclusively from amongst the slave-holders; a class of men who are naturally in the highest degree jealous of any attempts to tamper with a subject, upon which their fortunes and even their very lives depend. No man, under such circumstances, whatever be his talents, could venture, in any slave-holding legislature, to touch upon matters of such great delicacy. It is, indeed, quite contrary to the nature of things, to suppose that, in public bodies so constructed, any experiments of so dangerous a character should be thought of, still less that they should ever be actually put in practice.

If, however, when legislative interference is spoken of, the authority of the General, or Federal go-

vernment at Washington be meant, the idea is, if possible, still more completely out of the question. Congress has not, by the terms of the Constitution, the slightest shadow of right to meddle with the internal concerns of the States, and least of all with those which relate to Slavery. Any assumption of such pretensions on the part of Congress, would be so instantaneously resisted—by actual force, if that were necessary—by the whole mass of the slave-holding States, that the idea could not exist one hour. If such intentions of interference with the slave system should ever, by any strange infatuation, be seriously contemplated, either by a powerful Executive, or by a majority of the members of Congress from the non-slave-holding States, the inevitable consequence would be a division of the Union. It is really no great exaggeration of this difficulty to say, that it would be quite as simple and effectual a process for the Southern members in Congress to pass a law enslaving the manufacturers or husbandmen of New England, as it would be for those of the North to break the chains of the negroes in the rice or cotton districts of the South, or, which is held to be almost the same thing, to intermeddle with their slavery concerns in any shape whatsoever.

It is useless, then, for foreigners to hold the language of reproach or of appeal to America, there-

by implying a belief in the existence of such legislative power. It is mischievous to suppose that such interference can be of use, because this vain belief turns men's thoughts from those genuine ameliorations which are possible, into channels where philanthropy, as well as patriotism, either run completely to waste, or tend to contaminate still farther a stream already, alas! turbid enough.

CHAPTER IX.

At Savannah, we hired a carriage and pair of horses, to carry us first down to Darien, a town on the sea-coast, and then across the States of Georgia and Alabama, in the direction of New Orleans. We were fortunate in procuring a person to go with us who combined all the requisites for this somewhat arduous service; for though on the map the distance does not look very great, the toil and trouble, as well as risk, are by no means small. The driver was also proprietor of the horses and carriage; he had already made the journey more than once before; he was sober, honest, diligent, and cheerful, as well as reasonable in his dealings. The comfort and security, both to person and to purse, arising out of this agreeable combination, will be better understood as the journey advances.

In order to give us more room in the carriage, we took with us a light baggage-cart, called a waggon, drawn by one horse, and driven by our dri-

ver's son. The terms of our bargain—I believe exactly similar to those of the Italian Veturinos—may possibly interest some people.

We were to travel, if we chose to do so, between thirty and forty miles a-day; but we might stop as long as we pleased, and where we pleased.

For each day of travelling we were to pay 7 dollars, or . . .	L.1	11	6
Besides the feeding of the horses and drivers, or about 5 dollars more,	1	4	6
That is, per day, 12 dollars, or about	L.2	16	0

For the baggage-waggon, we were to pay three quarters of a dollar a-day, or about three shillings. And after discharging the carriage and horses at the end of the journey, the period for returning was to be computed at so many days, and paid for accordingly, as if we had still been on the journey.

This mode of travelling was certainly expensive, but there was no other along the route we followed. If we had not chosen to adopt this plan, we must have taken the steam-boat up the Savannah river to Augusta, and from thence have proceeded in the stage-coach to the westward. This would have been more economical and expeditious, but we should then have seen nothing of the interior of the country in a quarter very little visited.

We left Savannah on the 13th of March, 1828, and shaped our course nearly south. If required to give the localities with any precision in such a route, it would have been necessary to carry sextants and chronometers in the carriage; for we were fast sinking into the wild and little known parts of the continent, on which the traces of man were as yet but feebly impressed. Consequently the maps of these regions were not yet dotted with cities and villages, nor webbed over with lines of roads and canals. Whether the time will ever come when these things shall appear, is doubtful; for every step of this first day's journey was through swamps, where millions of fevers and agues seemed to be waiting to devour any one who should come near.

We stopped for the night at an obscure country house by the road side, kept by a hospitable old lady, a widow, the latitude of whose dwelling-place may be something under 32 degrees North. To this geographical circumstance my attention was drawn by observing the bright star Canopus,—the Alpha Navis of astronomers,—so named from being the largest in the splendid constellation called the Ship. I had often seen it before, high up in the southern sky; but now it was stealing along, only a few degrees above the horizon; so that, after

peering for a few minutes over the dreary forest, it dropped out of sight again.

As I was desirous that my child should have it to say, in future years, that she had seen this remarkable star, I was tempted to carry her out to the verandah, on purpose to show it her. It was so low down, however, that for some time I could not fix her attention on the spot. At last she caught a glimpse of it, flashing away between the tops of two trees, and, turning to me, exclaimed, "Moon! moon!"

Amongst the many pleasures which compensate the fatigues and troubles of voyaging in distant seas, this sort of companionship with the heavenly bodies has always appeared to me one of the greatest. The first sight of the North star, on re-crossing the Equator, after beating about in the opposite hemisphere, is like returning to the conversation of some old and unchanged friend. On the other hand, in steering to the South, the nightly rise, higher and higher, of new constellations, known before only by name—the Southern Cross—the Centaur—the Phœnix—irresistibly elevate the thoughts, and, by expanding the field of observation and reflection, cannot fail, in some degree, to influence the character even of the least imaginative traveller.

On reaching Darien, a neat little village on the

left bank of the gigantic Alatamaha, one of the largest rivers in America, but the name of which I had never even heard of before, we were met by a gentleman we had formerly known, and at whose invitation we were now visiting this part of the country. Under his escort we proceeded down the current in a canoe some thirty feet long, hollowed out of a cypress tree. The oars were pulled by five smart negroes, merry fellows, and very happy-looking, as indeed are most of their race, in spite of all their bondage. They accompanied their labour by a wild sort of song, not very unlike that of the Canadian voyageurs, but still more nearly resembling that of the well-known Bunder-boatmen at Bombay. As the evening fell, it became necessary to make great exertions to avoid being entangled in a labyrinth of low, marshy alluvial islands, nearly flush with the water, covered with long reeds, and extending for many leagues off to sea, abreast of the multitudinous mouths of the great Alatamaha. But the flood-tide from the Atlantic was an overmatch for the river, though swoln nearly to its utmost height, or what is called a 'high fresh,' by the heavy rains in the interior of Georgia, of which State this river is the principal drain. We had quite enough to do, therefore, by hard rowing and good pilotage, to

reach our destination, St Simon's Island, before it was pitch-dark.

Everybody must have read in the newspapers, under the head of Liverpool News, some mystical notices about 'Uplands' and 'Sea Island;' and I now, for the first time, learnt how to interpret these hieroglyphics.

On looking at the map of America, abreast of Georgia a number of islands will be observed, such as Tybee, Ossabaw, Sapelo, and St Simon's. These make no great show on paper, but they are very important in commerce, as being the spots on which the finest kind of cotton is raised. In strictness, what is called, technically, 'Sea Island cotton,' is not confined to these insular districts, but grows at various places on the main coast, and also for some distance from the sea, in the swampy regions bordering on most of the great rivers. The term is now used, therefore, to describe a particular sort of cotton, the essential characteristic of which is the length of fibre or staple, in contradistinction to the less valuable kind, with a short staple, which, from growing further from the sea, at a higher level, has acquired the name of Upland cotton, or, in the brevity of commercial language, 'Uplands.'

Various motives attracted us to St Simon's island, and we certainly were well repaid for the

little round of a couple of hundred miles which it cost us. One wears seven-league boots in America!

The process of raising the cotton, and preparing it afterwards, and incidentally the internal discipline of a well-managed property, of course engaged our attention. As we had also the advantage of consulting persons of long experience, and perfect fairness, the following sketch will probably be found correct.

On a 'Sea Island' plantation which I visited, there were 122 slaves employed in the culture of cotton. Of these, 70 were men and women between the ages of fourteen and fifty—48 children under the age of fourteen—and 4 superannuated. The 70 workers were classed as follows:

39 of them were called full hands.
16 three-quarter hands.
11 half hands.
4 quarter hands.

Making in all, out of the 70 persons, $57\frac{1}{2}$ 'taskable hands.' Those actually in the field were 44 taskables, while the remaining $13\frac{1}{2}$ were employed as cart-drivers, nurses, cooks for the negroes, carpenters, gardeners, house servants, and stock-minders—what we should call in Scotland herds; in England, I believe, herdsmen.

The ground under tillage consisted of 200 acres of cotton, and 25 of Indian corn, potatoes, and other things of that description. This gave about 5 acres to a full hand in the field. Several ploughs were occasionally used, the ploughmen being included in the 44 field hands.

The fields are divided by temporary stakes, into square patches of 105 feet each way, equal to a quarter of an acre. These portions, which are called 'tasks,' are laid off in ridges or beds, five feet apart, on which the cotton is to be planted. When land has been thus previously bedded, the first operation in spring is to hoe down the weeds and grass from the beds, into the furrows between them. This is what is called 'listing.' A full hand lists half an acre a-day. The next operation is with the plough, throwing up two furrows on each side of the list, which forms a ridge. The people then follow with the hoe, and finish off the bed. Here, as the work is light, the 'task' or portion of ground staked off is three quarters of an acre.

Two hands then proceed to open holes on the top of the beds, crosswise, 18 inches apart, and of the width of the hoe. Another hand follows, and scatters about fifty cotton seeds in each hole, while two hands come after to cover them up to the depth of an inch and a half, patting the soil down.

The planting is scarcely finished before hoeing

is required, as the weeds and grass spring up very fast. The 'task,' during this stage of the business, is half an acre. It is necessary to hoe the cotton about once a-fortnight. At the second hoeing the cotton plants are thinned out, till only about seven of every group remain, each one as far apart as possible from another. On the third hoeing, a further thinning takes place amongst the plants, when one or two only are left, the cotton being left thickest on poor lands.

In September, or perhaps earlier, the cotton begins to open in 'good blow,' at which stage it is fit for gathering. One hand picks from 90 to 100 pounds of what is called seed cotton, from the seeds being still in it. A woman generally performs about twice as much of this kind of work as a man can do. After its being gathered into the barns, it has to be assorted according to its quality. This also is generally done by women, assisted by those men who happen to be on the invalid list, or who from age are incapable of heavy labour. The different kinds of cotton are, 'first quality white,' 'second quality white,' and 'yellow.'

It is a very troublesome job to get rid of the seeds, in consequence of their being so closely enveloped in the cotton. They form nearly two-thirds of the weight of the whole.

The process of cleaning is commenced by carry-

ing the cotton into the open air, and allowing it to dry in the sun, which is necessary in all cases before taking it to the 'gin-house,' where the seeds are separated from the cotton by machinery. The ingenious apparatus, called the Cotton Gin, is the invention of an American of the name of Whitney; it consists of two little wooden rollers, each about as thick as a man's thumb, placed horizontally, and touching each other. On these being put into rapid motion, handfuls of the cotton are cast upon them, which, of course, are immediately sucked in. But there being no room for the seeds to pass, they are left behind, while the cotton is drawn through and delivered clean on the other side of the rollers. It is obvious, however, that the mere motion of the rollers, during this sucking-in process, would not alone be sufficient to detach the seeds from the fibres of the cotton in which they are wrapped up. In order to loosen them, a sort of comb fitted with iron teeth, each of which is a couple of inches in length, and seven-tenths of an inch distant from its neighbour, is made to wag up and down with considerable velocity, in front of the rollers. This rugged comb, which is equal in length to the rollers, lies parallel to them, with the sharp end of its teeth almost in contact with them. By the quick wagging motion given to this comb by the machinery, the buds of cotton cast upon the rollers are

torn open just as they are beginning to be sucked in. The seeds, now released from the coating which had encircled them, fly off like sparks, to the right and left, while the cotton itself passes through between the rollers.

In spite of all this tugging and tearing, however, certain seeds, or portions of seeds, more obstinate than the rest, do contrive to insinuate themselves between the rollers, and so pass along in company with the cotton, getting, of course, well crushed for their pains. I observed that the tips or sharp ends of the teeth of the iron comb sometimes gave the seeds a tap which broke them in pieces, and allowed the fragments to be drawn forward along with the cotton. These stray particles are afterwards separated by hand—a process which is called 'moting.' One hand can mote from twenty to thirty pounds per day. The smaller bits of the seeds, which may still remain, are afterwards blown away, when the cotton is whisked about in a light wheel, through which a current of air is made to pass. On its being gathered up, when tossed out of this winnowing machine, it is carried to the packing-house, where, by means of screws, it is forced into bags of 300 pounds each. These are sewed up and sent to the sea-coast, where they undergo a second squeezing, which reduces them to half their original size, by a process I shall

have occasion to describe at Mobile and New Orleans—after which they are ready for being shipped as the cotton of commerce.

With respect to the amount of labour performed by the slaves in the culture and preparation of cotton, I may mention, that in all cases of tasking —whether this term be applied to field or to house-work—a three-quarter, a half, or a quarter hand, is required to work only that proportion of a task per day. Applications are made every year by the slaves to the overseer, or to their master, to reduce the quantum of labour from the higher to lower grades. This method of tasking, or defining their work, is that which the slaves prefer to any other. Active hands get through their proportion generally by the middle of the day, others in two-thirds of the day, after which they are left to employ the balance, as it is rather well called, or what remains of daylight, in their own fields, in fishing, or in dancing;—in short, as they please. The driver puts them to work in the morning, and sees that all is properly executed before they go away.

The young slaves, of course, come in as one-quarter hands, and are gradually raised. Every negro knows his rate, and lawful task, so well, that if he thinks himself imposed upon by the driver, he appeals at once to the master. The tasks formerly described are the highest ever exacted on

cotton grounds; and when the land is rough, or the grass and weeds are very numerous and difficult to eradicate, there must be some reduction.

The stated allowance of food to every slave, over fourteen years of age, is nine quarts of Indian corn per week, and for children from five to eight quarts. This is said to be more than they can eat, and the surplus is either sold, or is given to the hogs and poultry, which they are always allowed to rear on their own account. A quart of salt monthly is also allowed, and salt fish, as well as salt beef occasionally, but only as a favour, so that this can never be claimed as a right. A heaped-up bushel of sweet potatoes is considered equal to the above allowance, and so are two pecks of rough, that is, unhusked, rice or paddy. But this is not thought so substantial a food as the Indian corn.

On the plantation to which these details refer, the negroes are allowed three holidays at Christmas, when they have plenty of beef and whisky. At the end of this period they are often, I am told, completely done up with eating, drinking, and dancing. On that plantation, they are allowed to have as much land as they choose to plant; and the master's family is supplied entirely with poultry and eggs from this free work of the slaves, who are regularly paid at the following rates:— Eggs, 12½ cents (6d.) a-dozen; chickens, 12½ cents

(6d.); fowls, 20 to 25 cents, or about a shilling a-pair; ducks twice as much. But they are left at liberty to carry their poultry to a better market, if they can find one. The proceeds are mostly laid out in dress and trinkets.

The slaves are generally dressed in what is called White Welsh plains, for winter clothing. This costs about 80 cents, or 3s. 6d. a-yard, in Charleston. They prefer white cloth, and afterwards dye it of a purple colour to suit their own fancy. Each man gets seven yards of this, and the women six yards,—the children in proportion. Each grown-up negro gets a new blanket every second year, and every two children, in like manner, one blanket. The men receive also a cap, and the women a handkerchief, together with a pair of strong shoes, every winter. A suit of homespun cotton, of the stuff called Osnaburgs, is allowed to each person for summer dress.

It is very disagreeable to speak of the punishments inflicted on these negroes, but a slave-holder must be more or less of a despot, in spite of himself; for the laws neither do, nor can they, effectually interfere in the details of discipline. The master must enforce obedience to his orders, and maintain general subordination, however kind-hearted he may be, by the only means which the nature of the whole system leaves in his power.

The slave has, unfortunately, so few generous motives to stimulate him to work, that fear is necessarily made to enter as the chief ingredient into the discipline. It is a great mistake, however, to suppose, that slaves labour sulkily, and under the perpetual exercise of the lash. On the contrary, from constant habit, they do, in point of fact, go about their work with cheerfulness; and, as their tasks are limited to what can be readily performed, it is in the power of every slave who chooses, to escape punishment for any length of time. But it seems to be indispensable to the working of this strange piece of moral machinery, that every negro should be made fully sensible, that punishment will follow neglect or crime. Neither men nor women, it is most melancholy to know, can ever be exempted with safety, upon any occasion, except that of sickness, from the operation of this stern but inevitable rule. When slaves are under the management of injudicious, unmethodical, dissipated, ill-tempered, or naturally cruel masters, of course the evils which ensue are too horrible to think of. But it ought to be recollected, in due fairness to the slave-holders—a class of men who are really entitled to a large share of our indulgence—that many ships of war, many regiments, and, I fear I may add, many domestic establishments, to say nothing of schools, are often—as I

have witnessed in all quarters of the globe—the scenes of as revolting tyranny as any rice or cotton plantation can well be. The scale may be smaller, but the principle is exactly the same. In fairness to the planters, we ought also to recollect, that the slave-holders, or by far the greater number of them, are not possessed of that character by any voluntary act of their own. Most of these gentlemen have succeeded to their property by inheritance, or have been obliged, by duty to themselves and their families, to engage in that particular profession, if I may so call it. They cannot, therefore, and they ought not, consistently with their duty, to disentangle themselves from the obligations which have devolved upon them, as the masters of slaves.

I have no wish, God knows! to defend slavery in the abstract; neither do I say that it is the best state of things which might be supposed to exist in those countries; but I do think it is highly important that we should look this great and established evil fairly in the face, and consider its bearings with as little prejudice as possible. There is no other chance for its gradual improvement, I am well convinced, but this calm course, which has for its object the discovery of what is possible —not what is desirable.

One of the results which actual observation has

left on my mind is, that there are few situations in life, where a man of sense and feeling can exert himself to better purpose, than in the management of slaves. So far, therefore, from thinking unkindly of slave-holders, an acquaintance with their proceedings has taught me to respect many of them in the highest degree; and nothing, during my recent journey, gave me more satisfaction than the conclusion to which I was gradually brought, that the planters of the Southern States of America, generally speaking, have a sincere desire to manage their estates with the least possible severity. I do not say that undue severity is nowhere exercised; but the discipline, taken upon the average, as far as I could learn, is not more strict than is necessary for the maintenance of a proper degree of authority, without which, the whole framework of society in that quarter would be blown to atoms. The first and inevitable result of any such explosion, would be the destruction of great part of the Blacks, and the certain additional misery of those who survived the revolt.

The evils of slavery are, indeed, manifold. Take a catalogue of the blessings of freedom, and having inverted them all, you get a list of the curses of bondage. It is twice cursed, alas! for it affects both parties, the master and the slave. The slave, in bad hands, is rendered a liar and a thief, as a matter

of course;—he is often systematically kept in ignorance of all he ought to be acquainted with, from the truths of religion to the commonest maxims of morality;—he is sometimes treated like the beasts of the field, and like them, only better or worse, according to the accidental character of his proprietor. On the other hand, there is in our nature a mysterious kind of reaction, which takes place in all circumstances, from the oppressed to the oppressors, the result of which is, that no man can degrade another, without in some degree degrading himself. In Turkey, for example, where the women are systematically debased—what are the men? I have the less scruple in taking this view of the matter, because it is one which, though not quite new to me, was brought to my notice on many occasions by the planters themselves, who, almost without exception, admitted to me with perfect frankness, that there was more or less of a deleterious effect produced on their own character by the unfortunate circumstances inseparable from their situation. They are compelled, rather than put their lives and fortunes in hourly hazard, to maintain a system, often in the highest degree revolting to their better nature. Like officers on service, they are forced on many occasions to repress their best feelings, and act with a sternness of purpose, which, though every way painful to them, cannot be relaxed for one instant.

I confess, for my own part, I have seldom felt more sincerely for any set of men, when I heard them lamenting with bitterness of spirit the evil influence of the system alluded to, infusing itself, daily and hourly, into the minds of their children, in the very teeth of their own strenuous efforts to prevent such contamination. It is a curious, and perhaps instructive fact, that the slaves themselves delight in encouraging "young master," or even "young mistress," to play the tyrant over them! What at first is mere sport, becomes in due time serious earnest. The difficulties, accordingly, of right education in those countries, at all its stages, are magnified to a degree, of which people in happier climates can hardly have any idea.

In condemning slavery, and scorning slave-holders, we are apt to forget the share which we ourselves contribute towards the permanence of the system. It is true, we are some three or four thousands of miles from the actual scene. But if we are to reproach the planter who lives in affluence in the midst of a slave population, it ought to be asked how he comes by the means to live at that rate. He gives his orders to the overseer, the overseer instructs the driver, who compels the negro to work, and up comes the cotton. But what then? He cannot make the smallest use of his crop, however luxuriant it be, unless, upon an

invitation to divide the advantages with him, we agree to become partners in this speculation,—the result of slave labour. The transfer of the cotton from Georgia to Liverpool is certainly one step, but it is no more than a step, in the transaction. Its manufacture into the goods which we scruple not to make use of, and without which we should be very ill off, is but another link in the same chain, at the end of which is the slave.

I shall be grievously misunderstood, if it be supposed that I wish to lessen the general abhorrence which is felt and expressed in the northern parts of America, and in England, for slavery. But I have a very great wish to see the subject properly viewed, and not shuffled aside, as it too frequently is, when all the matters at issue are taken for granted. My reason for desiring to see it so treated, arises from a conviction of there being no other way to do any good in the matter, except by considering it with steadiness and temper, and by giving due consideration to the interest and the feelings of the parties most closely connected with it—who, after all, are in strictness not one whit more culpable than ourselves, and are very often, in spite of all our abuse, the most zealous practical friends of the cause we pretend to have so much at heart. It costs us nothing to vituperate slavery and the slave-holders; and therefore we play with

the subject as we please; indifferent, very often, to the interests or feelings of those persons who alone have power to do any good. It would be far better policy to obtain their co-operation by trying to show them in what their true interest consists; but it is quite vain to expect them to listen with coolness, while we are putting in jeopardy every thing they hold dear in the world.

Very important advantages have arisen out of the abolition of the African Slave-Trade with America; and although some of these have been counteracted by the rise of the internal traffic in slaves, already alluded to, there seems to be no doubt that the result of the abolition of the foreign trade in negroes has, upon the whole, been good.

As long as Africans, of a hundred different tribes, all equally ignorant of English, and of one another's languages, might be introduced freely into America, at a low cost, to any extent, no particular care of the negroes was necessary. They might, or they might not, have domestic habits; and as for education, the thing was not dreamed of—they were imported at a mature age, were turned into the fields exactly like cattle, and there left without much more intellect. Any concert amongst such an incongruous set of beings was, of course, utterly impossible.

Of late years the case has been widely different.

As no fresh importation of negroes could take place, the slave-holders have been obliged to depend exclusively upon the reproduction of the blacks already domesticated amongst them. All the slaves in America, whatever the case may have been formerly, now learn a common language—that of their masters; and with the language they cannot fail to acquire some of the spirit that gives it energy, and renders it the vehicle to so much of what is called improvement in that country. However small a portion of this moral advancement may have become the property, if I may so call it, of the generation of slaves in existence when the foreign trade was abolished, there appears to be no doubt whatever that their successors have become decidedly better informed. The parents of the rising generation of slaves are every where, as I am told, so well aware of the advantages of educating their children, that although the laws in most of the slave-holding States, and the general custom in all of them, is to repress education as much as possible, they do contrive, somehow or other, to introduce more or less of it amongst their offspring. It may be very little, indeed; but that little, if generally diffused, cannot possibly fail, in some degree, to modify the character of the black population, and to give each succeeding generation a new lift in the scale of society. It is in the highest

degree important, therefore, to consider the effects of this elevating progress—slow, indeed, but sure—and probably all the better for being very silent and gradual.

That slavery is an evil in itself, and eminently an evil in its consequences, no men that I have ever met with are more ready to grant than most of the American planters. That the time will come when it must cease to exist, is not, however, so general an opinion. But in the meanwhile, it is admitted by all parties to be so firmly and so extensively established, and the means of doing it away to be so completely beyond the reach of any human exertions, that I consider the immediate abolition of slavery as one of the most profitless of all possible subjects of discussion.

The political problem relating to the blacks, which the practical men who shall be alive a hundred years hence may be called upon to solve, will, in all probability, be very different from that which it becomes the present generation to attempt. Whatever posterity may do, however, we of the nineteenth century, if we really expect to advance the cause of humanity in a proper and effective way, must not sit still, and scold or weep over the system of slavery, either in the abstract, as it is called, or in the practice.

The idle things I have heard on the subject of

slavery, by people who had not seen a dozen black men in their lives, have sometimes reminded me of a pompous fellow who pretended to be a great sailor, till being once cross-questioned as to what he would do in a gale of wind if it were necessary to take in the main-topsail,—"O, sir," said he, "I would man the tacks and sheets—let all fly—and so disarm the gale of its fury!"—Now, it is just in this fashion that many well-meaning people hope to disarm this hard slavery tempest of its terrors, by the mere use of terms which, in truth, have not the smallest application to the subject.

The planters, who are men of business, and know better how to treat the question, set about things in a more workmanlike style. Their first step is to improve the condition of the negro; to feed and clothe him better—take better care of him in sickness—and encourage him, by various ways, to work cheerfully. The lash, it is true, must still, I fear, be used; but it may be handled with more method, and less passion. These things, properly brought about, beget generous sympathies in both parties; for here, too, the reaction I spoke of formerly, soon shows itself—the slave works not only more, but to better purpose, and as the master feels it his interest, it soon becomes his pleasure, to extend the system farther—which again leads to fresh

advantages, and fresh reactions, all of the same salutary description.

The effect of better treatment raises the character of the slave, by giving him better habits, and thence invests him not exactly with a positive, or acknowledged right to such indulgences, but certainly with a tacit or virtual claim to them. This is a great step in the progress of improvement; because the slave will now try, by good conduct, to confirm the favours he has gained, and to draw them into established usages. The master's profit, in a mere pecuniary point of view, arising out of this introduction of something like a generous motive amongst his dependents, I have the very best authority for saying, is in most cases indubitable. If experience proves that such consequences follow kind treatment, and that human nature is not dissimilar in the case of the blacks from what it is in every other, these advantages, which at first may be only casual, or contingent upon the personal character of a few masters, must in time become the usage over the plantations generally. Thus one more step being gained, fresh improvements in slave discipline—taking that word in its widest sense—would then gradually creep in under the management of wise and benevolent persons, whose example would, of course, be imitated, if the results were productive. This progress, I have

strong reason to believe, is now in actual operation in many parts of America. Better domestic habits are daily gaining ground amongst the negroes—slowly, but steadily. More intelligence, better morals, and more correct religious feelings and knowledge, are also steadily making their way amongst that unfortunate race of human beings; and in no instance, I am told, have these improvements taken place without additional profit, and additional security, to the master.

At first sight there may appear to inexperienced eyes no great difficulty in bringing about these changes; but the obstacles are more numerous than we are apt to imagine. The present system of slave discipline has taken root so thoroughly and so extensively, and is so well understood by all parties—masters, overseers, drivers, and by the negroes themselves—that the introduction of any new system is opposed by the confirmed habits of all these classes. For it will be observed, that while every thing in the United States relating to the free part of the population is subject to one unceasing round of crude alterations—adopted as soon as suggested—all that concerns the blacks is maintained, for very obvious reasons, systematically in as permanent a condition as possible.

Few men, in any situation in life, or in any country, find it agreeable or often for their interest to

act in a different manner from the rest of their class. In proportion as society generally, or any particular branch of it, is formed into ranks distinct from one another, a belief in the advantages of such uniformity gains strength. In naval and military discipline, for instance, this principle is adhered to with great exactness; and amongst the different ranks in England, any innovations upon old habits are looked upon with great suspicion. With the planters of America, it will not be wondered at, therefore, that such feelings should exist in a very strong degree. Their system of slavery, indeed, which is entirely artificial, is maintained by rules of such rigour, as could not exist a moment if any free will were allowed. Every thing, therefore, which has more or less a tendency to infuse such voluntary action amongst the negroes, must, and ought to be, viewed with distrust by the planters. At all events, whether it ought to be so or not, the fact is, that such jealousy does, and will continue to prevail, in spite of all that natives or foreigners can say or do to the contrary.

If a slave-holder, therefore, either from humanity, or from ignorance, or from interested views, chooses to introduce any great or sudden change into the administration of his estate, he will inevitably excite the suspicion, if not the ill-will, of his caste. And as few men have sufficient decision

of character to persevere long in a course which they conceive to be right, when opposed by general example, all such violent changes have heretofore ended in nothing. In most cases where reform is necessary—whether in slave countries or in free ones—the true way to introduce beneficial changes, is to go about them very cautiously, and as quietly as possible. This seems to be more necessary in the case of slavery than in almost any other. The new plans, whatever they be, should be allowed to insinuate themselves so gradually, as to become parts of the existing system before any change has been discovered. In fact, their existence should first be made manifest by the improvement they have insensibly brought along with them. It is the veriest quackery of political legerdemain, to expect that the mere alteration of speculative defects will invariably produce practical benefits. Be this, however, as it may, the slave-holders of the Southern States of America form a body of such magnitude and importance, as to defy all attempts to regulate matters in any other way than what they please to countenance. Consequently, any gentleman amongst them, who really wishes to do good to this cause, must proceed with the most profound caution; and if, from time to time, he does hit upon practical improvements, still it will be the best policy to let them find their way

slowly from his own plantation to those of his neighbours, and so on, from them to others more remote, without any bustle or effort on his part to give them currency.

It was my good fortune to observe, on more than one plantation, several excellent modifications of slave discipline, and at first I felt grieved to see their utility confined to insulated spots. But I learned in time to understand why it was best to keep things quiet, until the experiments in question, though very plausible in appearance, had been tried under a variety of circumstances. "Then, but not till then," said my friends, "if these things really be good, they will gradually creep along, and be generally adopted by our brother slave-holders."

I came at last to take a very deep interest in these subjects; and, after reflecting attentively on all their bearings, I could not help thinking that the planters might take some advantage of a device which has elsewhere proved highly efficacious in the improvement of discipline. I ventured, indeed, to recommend its adoption to several of the planters; and I shall be glad, should these pages meet the eye of any others, if they will put it to the test likewise.

The plan is simply this. All punishments, great or small, should be reported daily to the master.

The drivers, in charge of the respective gangs, ought to state the names and other particulars to the overseer, and he in his turn should be made to report in writing daily to his employer. The effects, I venture to say, of this simple arrangement, would be highly beneficial. The slaves would feel less oppressed, from being conscious that the master really knew what was passing; the drivers and overseers would be placed under a wholesome degree of superintendence; and the master himself, from being correctly informed on one of the most important branches of the system, might be more able to check the evil effects of passion or of indulgence on the part of his officers. Many men will permit evils to go on without enquiry, which they would shrink from giving countenance to, if actually placed before them. This plan, of reporting punishments to the supreme head, would make little or no change in those plantations where the master, overseer, and drivers, were men of sense and good feeling; but in every other it would probably correct the errors, or tend to correct the errors, of temper, of cruelty, or of incapacity, and could not fail, I think, to make the negroes better and happier, without the smallest risk of its leading to any relaxation of effective discipline, or diminution in the produce of their labour.

I met many planters who made no scruple in

stating that, according to their view of the matter, grounded on experience, the security of the whites and their property became greater, in proportion as the negroes acquired knowledge, and that the safety of the whites was at the minimum when the blacks were kept at the lowest stage of ignorance. As this doctrine, however, is directly in the teeth of the ordinary maxims on the subject, it is right that the principle upon which it rests should be distinctly explained.

The number of negroes is already very considerable, and they are increasing so rapidly, that some people imagine there will, ere long, arrive a moment of political danger, from their mere physical force. Unquestionably there must always be danger from great numbers of persons combined for such a purpose as we may imagine the blacks to have in view. But I do not believe there is one man alive, who has attended to the subject, and certainly not one who has examined it on the spot, who conceives it possible that any thing but slaughter and misery would be the result of such an attempt, on the part of the slaves, to redress their grievances, real or imaginary, by means of force alone. Insurrections would no doubt cause unspeakable distress and ruin to their present masters; but there cannot be the shadow of a doubt, on any reasonable mind, that the slaves would be

speedily overwhelmed, and either be cut to pieces, or be reduced to servitude still more galling than they at present endure. Now, although all parties in America admit that this would be the result, there are many persons under the impression, that in the event of a servile war in the Southern States, the free inhabitants of that section of the Union could not subdue the insurgents without the co-operation of their non-slave-holding brethren in the North. This, however, I take to be a mere chimera, without any foundation whatever in fact. The armed militia of the slave-holding States is abundantly strong for all the purposes of self-defence, even regarded in a mere physical point of view. True security, it must be remembered, as far as force is considered, does not consist in numbers, but in that compact unity of purpose which cannot exist amongst slaves, but is maintained at all times amongst the free inhabitants of the South.

It is of the highest importance to the peace of those countries, that the truth of the above positions should be felt and acknowledged by the slaves themselves; because there seems every reason to believe, that precisely in proportion to their advancement in knowledge, so is this conviction strengthened. But as long as they are kept in a state of ignorance, they are perpetually liable to be worked upon by designing men, who instruct

them in nothing but in the extent of their numbers; and whose logic commences with the fallacy, that sixty persons are necessarily stronger than six. If, however, these six have confidence in one another, and have arms in their hands, it is perfectly clear that they are superior in power, not to sixty, but to six hundred persons who can place no reliance on one another. As the slaves advance in knowledge, therefore, and learn to understand the true nature of their situation, they will only become more and more aware of the utter hopelessness of any remedy arising out of violence on their part. When this conviction is once thoroughly impressed upon their minds, they will not only be far less disposed to revolt, at the instigation of agitators, but will be in a better frame of mind to profit by those ameliorations in their condition, to which I have before alluded, as tending to the mutual advantage both of master and slave.

I grant that some part of this reasoning is theoretical; but the body of the argument is founded on a knowledge of facts, which have followed experiments, sufficiently extensive and varied in their circumstances, to justify the hopes which it holds out of important improvements in the condition of the American slaves. This, which is the first and greatest step in the question, includes all that

ought to be aimed at for the present; because it is the only one which can possibly carry with it the co-operation of the slave-holders, without whose cordial support, I must again repeat, every scheme for ameliorating the condition of the negroes appears to be utterly useless, or perhaps mischievous, as it may provoke their masters to resist all improvement whatever.

What eventual good is to spring out of all this, I do not pretend to say; and it would be idle in a partially informed stranger to speculate upon such remote contingencies, when scarcely any two persons on the spot agree about them. Some affirm that, in process of time, the race of negroes will be extirpated, and the whole country, by that time, being improved in its climate, may be cultivated by whites. Others assure us, that in a certain number of years—but I never could hear how many—the whole of the slave-holding States are to be under the authority of the black race. While a third set of speculators describe minutely how the negroes are to be driven, by and by, into the woods and mountains, where they are to resume their natural habits, and live like wild beasts!

Upon the whole, it is to be hoped, that if in reality it shall be found that there is no danger, but, on the contrary, additional security, in al-

lowing the slaves to acquire better habits and more knowledge, the planters, who alone have the power, will in time find their truest advantage to consist in the gradual improvement of the unfortunate race committed to their care.

Much is said in the South of the mischief done by the irksome and persevering exertions of the abolitionists, both in America and abroad; yet I question greatly if the evil arising from such attempts at interference be in fact considerable. In many cases, I have no doubt, they have done good, by compelling the slave-holders to look about them, and to disentangle themselves from some awkward accusations, originally, perhaps, but too well founded. In many instances, certainly, the charges made have been utterly false; while, in others, the accusations have been so true, that the planters have been in a manner forced to apply the proper remedies. In some instances, too, of which I heard more than once, the planters have actually come to a knowledge of abuses existing on their own property, of which they had no suspicion, till roused to investigate the matter by a wish to prove the falsehood of some of these very attacks.

In concluding this important subject, I feel bound to say, that, as far as I could investigate the matter, the slave system of America seems to be in as good a condition—that is to say, in as fair a

train for amelioration—as the nature of so dreadful a state of things admits of. With respect to external interference, the planters will probably not be the worse of an occasional hint, even though it be rude and unpalatable. On the other hand, the abolitionists must make up their minds to suffer great, and almost constant disappointments. Between the two, impartial and cool-headed men, who, without any particular views, sincerely wish well to their fellow-creatures—black as well as white—planters as well as slaves—will confine their hopes, and their exertions, to what they know is practicable, consistently with justice to all parties, and the laws of common sense.

CHAPTER X.

On the 20th of March, 1828, we commenced our toilsome journey across the Southern Section, as it is called, of the United States. The arrangements we originally made would have taken us along the banks of the great Alatamaha river, through a very wild and interesting country. But the recent high freshes had swept away most of the bridges across the creeks which fall into that large stream, and thus the road was rendered impassable.

We therefore struck again to the northward, in the first instance, as far as the village of Riceborough, directly away from the river some thirty or forty miles; after which we steered to the westward, nearly parallel to its course. In this manner, though we had still to find our way over many troublesome watercourses, we took them higher up, and thereby incurred less risk of being washed away, and lost in some of those boundless swamps which characterize the alluvial districts of Georgia.

I have already mentioned that we had a light travelling vehicle, open at the sides, but capable of being closed by curtains when it rained, or when the sun was inconveniently hot. As the baggage cart followed close behind, nothing was put in the carriage but a carpet-bag, and sundry small and light articles. We also profited by past experience, and carried with us a small parcel of rice, some sugar, four loaves of bread, a pound of tea, and a keg of small biscuits called crackers. In order to repair accidents happening to our equipage, we carried a small coil of rope and a hatchet; both of which proved very useful.

On the way to Riceborough from Darien, we saw an alligator sleeping at full length in the sun, on the trunk of a fallen tree, in the swamp. We all got out of the carriage, and inspected him at the distance of three or four yards. At length, upon some slight noise being made, he jumped, or rather slid off the tree, into the water. After looking at the alligator, as the morning was cool, we resolved to walk on a little, and rather laughed at the driver's caution about snakes, which were found, he said, in great numbers in these swampy regions. But within five minutes after he had spoken, we almost set our feet on two of the very reptiles he was warning us against; one of which was about three feet long, quite black—the other somewhat

less, but of a yellowish brown, and called by the driver, the yellow mocasin. The habits of these snakes appeared to be quite different; for, when the whip was cracked at the yellow mocasin, it glided off into the inky-looking stagnant water, and was lost sight of in a moment. The black one, however, appeared averse to the water, and stole along the bank, for some distance, at so gentle a rate, that we might have struck him, and perhaps might have caught him, had we been so disposed. It is curious enough, that although we afterwards travelled over several thousands of miles of country, where all kinds of snakes abound, we never afterwards saw but two more, and never encountered or even heard a rattlesnake.

On the 21st of March, we fairly plunged into the forest, from which we did not again emerge for many a weary day of rugged travelling. The interest of the forest scenery was a good deal heightened by an immense tract of it being on fire. How far this extended we had no means of knowing; but the volumes of smoke filled up the back ground completely, and deepened the general gloom in a very mysterious style. At many places, however, we actually came amongst the blazing trees, and were somewhat incommoded by the heat and smoke.

I was amused at one particular spot by seeing a

pitch-pine-tree burning in a curious way. The fire had somehow made a hole in the stem, near the ground, and burnt out a passage for itself, of several yards in length, in the heart of the tree; after which, the flame again made its appearance, thus producing a pipe or chimney. There was, consequently, a strong draught, and the poor pine was roaring away like a blast furnace, while its top was waving about in the air, a hundred feet above, as green and as fresh as if nothing remarkable were going on below!

Towards sunset, we came to a spot where three roads branched off. After a pause, we took the wrong one, as it afterwards proved; but the delay and trouble were well bestowed, as it carried us through a part of the forest where not only the trees were on fire, but the grass also. It was an exceedingly pretty sight. A bright flaming ring, about a foot in height, and three or four hundred yards in diameter, kept spreading itself in all directions, meeting and enclosing trees, burning up shrubs with great avidity, and leaving within it a groundwork as black as pitch, while every thing without was a bright green, interspersed with a few flowers. I jumped into the circle, and stood for a few minutes on the scorched ground, racking my brain for something to compare it with, but

could find nothing more appropriate than a black uniform fringed with gold lace.

It cost us twelve very hard hours' work to make out between thirty and forty miles on this day, and we were right glad, at last, to find ourselves in a solitary log-house, kept by a widow, who welcomed us to all she had; and though she kept no public house, she very cheerfully took us in, according to the universal custom of those wild countries where no regular accommodations are to be found. Of course, these poor people cannot afford to entertain travellers for nothing, but their charges were always as moderate as their means would allow.

Next day we accomplished only twenty-five miles. But in journeying through the forests of America, in regions where Macadam's name was never heard, and over which his magical influence will probably not soon be spread, the amount of a day's work is not always to be estimated by the number of miles.

Our road, on the 22d of March—if road it ought to be called—lay through the heart of the forest, our course being pointed out solely by blazes, or slices, cut as guiding marks on the sides of the trees. It was really like navigating by means of the stars over the trackless ocean! When we had groped our way in this strange fashion for about ten or

twelve miles, we came to a place where the slight trace of a road, in the expressive language of the woods, is said to fork, or split into two. The driver stopped, sighed, and then looked at me with a look of interrogation. "Take the right-hand road," said I, and away we went. I had misdirected him, however. Indeed, I had no motive for speaking, except the experience that, in the analogous service of navigation, when our knowledge happens to be exhausted, indecision is generally worse than error, as it loses more time. But I was out of my reckoning for once, as we soon found ourselves bewildered amongst brushwood and swamps. After floundering about for some time, we came suddenly, and to our great joy, upon a bit of cleared land. No human being, however, was to be seen; and though numerous spiral curls of smoke rose amongst the trees, they came not from houses, but from the burning forest.

By dint of working various traverses, first to one hand, and then to the other, the driver at last discovered some slight indications of a path. To my eye there was no such thing, but his more practised sight made it out, as he declared, quite distinctly. This we followed, till we came upon three red pigs, symptoms of humanity which were most gratefully hailed by the wayfarers. By and by their owner appeared, a wild-looking man of the woods,

who, however, very kindly took considerable pains to direct us into the right track. A road was to be made, he said, but when he did not know. In the meantime, we must follow certain blazes on the trees. Off we set again, over roots and stumps, across creeks and swamps, alternately driving up and down the sides of gentle undulations in the ground, which give the name of a rolling country to immense tracts of land in that quarter of the world. The whole surface of such districts is moulded, by what means I know not, into ridges of sandy soil, gently rounded off, nowhere steep or angular, and never continued in one straight line for any great distance. I have often observed the sea in a calm, after a gale of wind, with a surface somewhat similar, only that in the case of these rolling countries the ridges are not so regular in their direction, and are many times larger than any waves I ever saw. They present no corners or abrupt turns; and, though crossed by small valleys, these too have their edges dressed off in like manner, as smoothly as could have been managed by the most formal landscape gardener.

I sought in vain for traces of the great wave, or deluge, which appears to have swept over the northern and eastern parts of America; but I saw nothing in these rolling countries sufficiently uniform in direction, or otherwise characteristic, to

justify the application of the Diluvian theory to their phenomena. An idea, however, was suggested to me on the spot, which farther enquiries may possibly verify. Every one has noticed the effect produced on a flat sandy beach by the ebbing tide. A certain kind of ridges are formed, which, on a diminutive scale, give some notion of the country I am describing. Now, it is possible, and quite reconcilable with the Huttonian theory of the earth, that this part of the country should have formed, at one time, the bottom of the sea. If we next imagine the gulf-stream, which now flows along the coast of America, from the Capes of Florida to the banks of Newfoundland, to have passed over the districts alluded to, its gigantic current may have fashioned the bottom into a commensurate series of ridges, and thus have formed the rolling country, which some convulsion of nature, in subsequent times, has raised to its present position. If careful experiments on the inequalities of the bottom of the sea, along the course of the gulf-stream, should prove that a similar form is impressed upon the sand, this theory would have something to stand upon.

For five hundred miles, at the least, we travelled, in different parts of the South, over a country of this description, almost every where consisting of sand, feebly held together by a short wiry grass,

shaded by the endless forest. I don't know exactly what was the cause, but it was a long time before I got quite tired of the scenery of these pine barrens. There was something, I thought, very graceful in the millions upon millions of tall and slender columns, growing up in solitude, not crowded upon one another, but gradually appearing to come closer and closer, till they formed a compact mass, beyond which nothing was to be seen. Not even a ray of the sun could pierce this gloom; and the imagination was at liberty to follow its own devices into the wilderness, as far as it pleased. These regions will probably be left for ages in neglect. The poverty of the soil, and the difficulty of procuring water, will, in all likelihood, condemn the greater part of them to perpetual sterility.

I had hardly made these, or similar reflections, on the stability of the forest, when we came to a tract of country several leagues in width, where every tree was laid prostrate on its side, with its roots torn out of the ground. Their tops were all directed to the south-west, from which circumstance, taken along with various reports in the neighbourhood, I infer they must have been blown down by some furious gust from the north-east. Only those trees which had fallen across the road had been cut away; while all the rest being left

to rot at their leisure, a more dreary scene of destruction cannot be imagined.

These varieties gave interest to the journey, and as the sun was high in the heavens, and our day's march not long, we took all the interruptions in good-humour. But the delay had very nearly procured us a sound drenching. We had stopped at a house to ask our way, when we heard, or thought we heard, a low murmur of thunder, to which suspicion, a dark pile of clouds, gathering slowly in the south-west, and towering far above the woods, gave but too much confirmation. Still we were not sufficiently warned, and drove on. When the sky is clear over head, the sun shining, and all things snug, dry, and comfortable, we are apt to look forward to a shower of rain as a trifle. But when the clouds mount to the zenith, and the windows of heaven are opened, we recollect the shelter we have left, with a feeling of remorse worthy of a greater offence.

On this occasion, however, we fared better than people generally do who make light of a thunderstorm in those climates. A good smart plump of rain, indeed, came down hissing upon the burning trees, and wetting our baggage a little. But after a rumble or two the squall passed on, the sun came out again, and we smiled in scorn at the stories we had heard of the Southern thunder showers.

We had not been five minutes housed, however, at the end of our day's journey, before the storm came on in good round earnest, continuing for an hour after it was dark, in a style which I never saw equalled, except at San Blas, on the western shores of Mexico. The thunder was so near us, that each flash of lightning was followed almost instantaneously by a clap, which shook the house, as if it had been a ship grounding on a rock. Meanwhile the rain fell in such quantities, that having no time to run off the court-yard, the road, or the fields, the whole surface was submerged, as if it had been the commencement of a second deluge.

The obliging old gentleman who agreed to take us in for the night, caught sight of the Camera Lucida, as we were tumbling the things out of the carriage, in all haste to escape the coming tempest, and nothing would satisfy him, when he knew its use, but my drawing his portrait. This request was easily granted, as well as that of three or four of his sons,—fine strapping fellows, fit pioneers for the backwoods as ever I beheld, some of whom I included in the family group. But the whole of these bushy-pated rovers, with the old gentleman at their head, would make a tame picture in comparison to that of the mother of the family. I could not muster up courage, however, to ask so formidable a personage to sit for her pic-

ture. She was, for all the world, like Sir John Falstaff disguised as the old woman of Brentford. Near the top of her head she wore a little bit of a man's hat, over a linen cap; and round her capacious corporation was drawn a blue checked cotton gown, tucked up in front, higher than I dare venture to be particular in describing, but far enough at least to betray a pair of feet and ankles, in perfect keeping with a couple of brawny arms, well known, I dare swear, to the ears of her hopeful progeny, to the chops of her negroes, and mayhap, to the sconce of her affectionate helpmate!

I was at first rather cautious about going into any details of dinner with a lady who seemed to have all things so completely her own way; but as she expressed some impatience to be set to work, I ventured to insinuate that a couple of broiled fowls would be very acceptable; and, by degrees, I plucked up fortitude to add a word or two about rice and potatoes. To each of my requests she uttered an ah! or a hem! or merely signified her apprehension of my meaning by a nod. At length, planting her fists on her knees, to help her elevation from an immense hide-bottomed chair, she rose, and said in a good-natured tone, which re-assured me greatly, "I suppose you must have what you want," and away she strode.

In about ten seconds there was a fine scatter

amongst the household party, and a glorious uproar in the back yard. "Sally! Mary! you, Tom! June! Where are you, June?" screamed out Sir John, and a dozen voices answered to the call.

Some of these were sent off to catch the fowls, of which party June, an active negro lad, took the lead. The two house-dogs followed; a fence was to be scaled; and the poultry, as if conscious of their fate, took to their wings in horror of the gridiron, so that it was some time before June, or July—or whatever his rightful appellation be—succeeded in his expedition, and brought back a couple of hens to the impatient landlady, who, in the interim, had raised a glorious fire in the kitchen, rivalling the lightning, as much as her voice did the thunder, which by this time was screaming and scolding away amongst the clouds.

A short calm succeeded, of which I took advantage to continue my sketch of the old man, with as many of his six sons as there was daylight for, and I was just touching off the grinning countenance of a youth with a brush of hair like a bee-hive, when, to the general consternation of all the party—the artist included—Sir John made her appearance in the midst of the tempest, which had recommenced its growlings. "What are ye all about here, you lazy fellows?" she roared out; "run off, all of you, and fetch me some planks to

lay across from the back door to the kitchen, that I may get over the water!"

As I saw that the fine arts had no more chance this evening, I put up my apparatus; and while I was doing so, the landlady came to tell us, quite sorrowfully, that the rain was beating the soot down the chimney at such a rate there could be no broiling, but that our supper might be fried in a covered vessel.

"Any way, my dear madam," said I; for I had been struck with the gradual manner in which her temper fell, and her genius rose, with difficulties, as every commanding officer's ought to do. And surely there was some need, for she was not accustomed to such fastidious guests. I fear, indeed, we bothered her excessively by our numerous and unreasonable demands,—clean sheets, clean towels, tubs of water, and so on, till at length, in the course of the evening, when the child's maid went to ask for another bit of candle, she sat down in despair, and exclaimed, "I wonder when you will have done with your askings!"

In process of time our supper was placed on the table, and the immediate cares of our good hostess being over, she sat down along with us, not to accompany us in eating, but to indulge us with a heavy catalogue of her multifarious grievances.

As hunger is probably the greatest trier of the

temper, so a good meal is the surest rectifier of the humours; and as I felt particularly happy to have escaped the storm, in the first instance, and afterwards to find such good cheer prepared, I thought I could not do better than set about consoling our amiable entertainer.

"Now," said I, in answer to her deep-drawn sighs, and bitter lamentations of being bothered out of her life and soul by hard work,—"Now, if you had not your negroes to beat about, your sons to keep in order—which, I am sure, is no joke"—

She shook her head and smiled.

"Your husband to scold"—another smile—"your guests to attend, and be useful and kind to"—a nod and a smile—"your poultry to feed, your pigs to kill, your meals to cook; in short, if you were not badgered and worried all day long"—

"And all night too, very often," interrupted she—

"You would," I added, "be a wretched woman, instead of being one of the happiest, most useful, and kindest persons in the State of Georgia!"

She laughed heartily at this philosophy, and made no more complaints of our askings, but gave us all her simple means afforded.

Nevertheless, it must be fairly owned, the house was not the most agreeable in the world. Our two

rooms, put together, would not have made up in size one butler's pantry; there was but one wash-basin, as they called it, in the house; only one towel; and every thing looked and felt damp and dirty. In the centre of the building there was a large, public sort of room crowded with other travellers, who talked and moved about the live-long night, so that we got little or no sleep, and were right glad to be up by peep of day. We were fairly off on the sandy road just as the level rays of the sun were struggling through the pine-trees, every sprig of which was spangled with the heavy drops of last night's storm.

CHAPTER XI.

We had thirteen long miles of heavy road to travel, on the morning of the 23d of March, 1828, before we came in sight of the house where, according to the promises of the obliging folks we had left, breakfast was sure to be found. On driving up to the door, and seeing the master of the establishment lounging in his verandah, we asked his leave to walk in, which he said we might do if we pleased, adding, at the same time, "You need not expect any breakfast here, because there is no one in the house to cook it." This was no agreeable salutation at ten o'clock in the morning after such a journey.

"Have you got any thing to cook?" I asked.

"Why, I don't know as to that. What do you want?"

"Have you got any chickens?"

"Yes, if you can catch them."

"Catch them!" cried two or three of our party,

rejoiced to have any prospect, however remote, opened to our view.

A chase was instantly commenced in the yard, by the driver Middleton and his son; while I prevailed upon the master of the house to show me the kitchen, and to let me light a fire.

The ladies of the family, it appeared, had gone to visit some friends in the neighbourhood, where I daresay their pleasure would have been somewhat disturbed, had they known how their pots and kettles, pitchers and frying-pans, were knocked about by our unskilful fingers.

In the course of an hour—a weary, weary hour! —we managed amongst us to conjure up a very respectable meal, and demolished our fried chickens, without much drawback from those sensibilities which some people complain of when the dying sounds of the poultry they are eating still ring in their ears. I rather suspect such sensitive persons have never been exposed to the danger of losing their breakfast or dinner, unless they adopted this hard-hearted alternative.

Our thoughts, however, were soon far otherwise employed by a new and more important concern. It appeared that, four or five miles further on, there lay across our route a very awkward stream, called the Yam Grandy Creek, which, our landlord informed us, was one of those water-courses that ge-

nerally rise higher on the second day after rain, than they do on the first; so that we should probably be detained for some time, unless we contrived to get past it soon.

These unpleasant accounts were confirmed by the report of two travellers on horseback, who, on coming in just as we had done breakfast, announced the creek to be on the rise. This they had ascertained by well-known marks on the trees; adding, that as it was already very deep, they advised us to push on with all speed, before it became too dangerous to venture across the ford.

Off we set. The Yam Grandy did look most forbidding, I must say. It was a broad, swollen stream, running amongst thick brushwood, which covered the country on both sides of the road. We could only guess at our way, therefore, for the water was ominously black, and looked very deep.

For my part, having no experience in fords, I did not fancy it at all. Middleton, the driver, appeared to like it still less. We therefore held a consultation as to what should be our next proceeding. Upon examining the ground more carefully, we discovered a footway across the creek, over a rustic bridge formed of felled trees, laid two and two, sidewise, over the greater part of the width, which might be about a hundred and fifty or two hundred

yards. These logs were supported, here and there, at the height of six or eight feet above the stream, by posts driven into the ground. Unfortunately, at the very middle of this rickety gangway, one of the trees had been carried away, so that, for eight or ten yards of the worst part of the passage, there was only a single pole left to walk upon. Middleton and I crossed over in the first instance, in order that we might form some idea whether or not it would be safe to attempt passing the ford with the carriages, or even this bridge, with the rest of the party. He confessed himself at a loss. Upon which I proposed that he should put all the luggage out of the cart on the grass, then jump in to it, and drive across the stream, by which means, I thought, we should be able to judge what chance the carriage would have for making the passage.

He laughed at my proposal, and muttered something about being washed away, drowned, or bedevilled in the creek; of all which I took no notice, but proceeded, with his assistance, to tumble out the portmanteaus, travelling bed, baskets of provisions, and so on, from the cart. This accomplished, the gallant driver mounted the vehicle like a Roman charioteer, and dashed forward into the ugly-looking tide.

The poor cart soon showed only a few inches of the top of its railing above the ripple, but the horse

never entirely lost its footing. The driver's experienced ear ascertained, by the sound of the wheels, that none of the rails or logs of which the road was made had been dislodged by the flood. I was not a little relieved, however, when I saw him safely across.

What was to be done next? For although it was now obvious that the carriage might cross, it was equally clear that no lady could sit in it, with the water nearly up to the seat. We therefore decided to transport our female party along the perilous bridge on foot, and let the empty carriage and horses take their chance of the Yam Grandy, as the waggon had done before.

Our troubles were augmented by the pelting of a pitiless shower, which came on just as this resolution was taken. We cared little, indeed, for the ducking; but the rain made the logs so slippery, that the difficulty of crossing the bridge, even at those parts where it was double, was greatly increased, while at the centre arch or division, where there was only one smooth round tree, it really became a service of some danger to pass along. But, there being no resource, away we went. As the child was fast asleep, it was agreed that I should take her in my arms, while Mrs Hall and her maid followed. All went right till we came to the middle log of the bridge, the very keystone

of our difficulties. Fortunately, my nautical head was not made giddy, though the stream was gushing and foaming underneath; but the service proved rather too arduous for the females, who accordingly stopped short at the spot where the double pathway ended. Here it was decided that I should make the best of my way with the child, and, having deposited her in the carriage, return to give convoy to the rest of the squadron.

Our talking about these matters awoke the infant, who looked up just as I had reached the centre point, or most ticklish step of all. The carriage was in the deepest part of the ford, floundering away, with the driver cracking his whip, and hallooing by name to his noble coursers—Tom and Jerry—who, by their snorting and tugging, showed how well they understood the necessity of exerting themselves. The child, who was in ecstasies at what she saw, clapped her hands, and jumped about in such a way, that I had the greatest difficulty in preserving my balance—the more so, as I carried in one hand an umbrella, which I had unconsciously caught up to shelter the little thing's head from the rain, in the absence of her bonnet, mislaid in the confusion.

At last we all got over in safety, dripping wet, indeed, but talking and laughing merrily, and congratulating one another at the success of our ad-

venture. The luggage being then brought across the bridge, piece by piece, on our shoulders, we took leave of the Yam Grandy, a stream heretofore unknown to geography, but one which we, at least, shall not soon forget.

This was the most formidable difficulty we encountered in traversing the State of Georgia. The minor annoyances of travelling, as usually happens, were sometimes less easily borne. For several days at a time we could not get a drop of milk, even for the child; and though we saw hundreds of cows, they were all let loose in the woods, and not tied up for domestic purposes till a later season. Our loaf of sugar was accidentally left somewhere on the road, and the substitutes were nowise tempting to the eye or to the palate. At very few of the houses where we stopped did we meet with either a teakettle or a teapot; so that upon two occasions we had to boil the water in a frying-pan, and to make the tea in a common earthenware jug!

We always managed to get enough to eat, however; and fortunately, all the party were in good health, especially the child, who enjoyed the journey so much, that we never once repented having brought her. We had one of those admirable travelling beds, made by Mr Pratt of Bond Street,

which fold up into an incredibly small compass. This was occupied by the infant and her maid.

By the way, of beds;—it may seem a trivial thing to complain of, but I think pretty nearly the greatest hardship we encountered on our journey, was the impossibility of getting any thing to lie upon but feather-beds, made of ill-cured materials, scantily bestowed in a flaccid bag, laid on rumbly, uneven cross-planking.

Sometimes, when we least expected it, we lighted upon a different style of things. For example, on the evening of the memorable day on which we crossed the Yam Grandy, we reached a solitary house, from which both the master and mistress were absent; but three pretty little girls, the eldest not more than twelve years of age, set to work instantly, in the most businesslike manner, to prepare supper for us. One of them brought a glass of milk, warm from the cow, for the child, another set about cooking, and the third arranged the table; while every thing about the establishment was neat, clean, and well-ordered.

Almost all these forest houses in the interior of the State of Georgia consist of two divisions, separated by a wide, open passage, which extends from the front to the back of the building. They are generally made of logs, covered with a very steep roof, I suppose to carry off the heavy rains.

The apartments, at the ends of these dwellings, are entered from the open passage which divides the house in two, the floor of which is raised generally two or three feet from the ground. This opening being usually ten or twelve feet wide, answers in that mild climate the purpose of a verandah, or sitting-room, during the day.

In that part of America, where there is no regular travelling, and indeed little travelling of any kind, no taverns, properly so called, are kept up. But in their stead, some houses near the road are always open to any one who calls, and the best fare the inhabitants have is cheerfully set before their guests. Of course, a charge is made, which varies, as might be expected, inversely as the quality of the entertainment. For where the difficulty of providing the means of subsistence is considerable, a greater sacrifice is made by parting with any portion of what has been provided, than in places where there is abundance. A traveller must accordingly expect to pay for his curiosity if he visits thinly-peopled districts, remote from cities, or even villages.

When our good host came home, he explained to me, that when he first began farming in the woods, he had lived in the small log-house which I saw in the back court adjoining the kitchen. In the course of time, as more land was cleared, and

his means were thereby increased, he had been enabled to build the new house which we were in close to the roadside. I asked him how he came to have no windows in it. "Oh," said he, "we never make the windows in the first instance, but build up the walls with the logs, and then cut out the windows. Now, I have not yet money enough to enable me to go into that matter; but I hope, in the course of the year, to put in a couple of glazed windows. After which, I shall go on gradually till I make it all comfortable."

We found ourselves so agreeably situated at this station, that we remained one entire day to rest both man and horse. The weather was hotter than it had been since we left Savannah, and I occupied myself chiefly in the shady part of the passage or verandah, in sketching the different people who came in, and all of whom were pleased to have their picture drawn with the Camera Lucida, which excited great wonderment; as well it might, for I suppose such a thing was never before seen in that quarter.

On the 25th of March, we travelled twenty-nine miles in ten hours and a half, and very hard work it proved. We took dinner at a village on the right bank of the Oconee, a dirty stream, which joins the Ocmulgee, after which the joint river takes the name of the Alatamaha, already spoken of.

When dinner was ready, we were favoured with the company of the mistress of the house, who, however, neither ate, nor spoke, nor gave us one look of welcome; but sat at the top of the table, steadily watching all we did. The formality of this superintendence was sometimes not a little oppressive.

Next day, we were exposed to an amusing variety of this annoyance. After a long day's journey of thirty-one miles, we reached a house which we had been told took in travellers. No one appeared, however, and on trying the door, it proved to be locked. After looking round for some time, we discovered a little negro boy, who said his master and mistress were both from home, and we began to fear we should be obliged to go on still farther for a night's lodging. The boy, however, found the cook for us, who in her turn, by dint of bribery and corruption, found the keys; and, before the landlord or his daughter appeared, we had made a lodgment in the mansion.

As soon as notice was given that supper was ready, we sat down, in hopes of being allowed for once to enjoy a comfortable meal alone. No such happiness!—for the young lady placed herself in the vacant chair, and planting her elbows on the table, sat all the time, without saying one word, except "Yes, sir," or "No, madam," in answer to

our attempts at conversation. She made no effort to entertain us, but continued staring at us, as if we had been so many wild beasts feeding. The show, I presume, was too good to be lost, for cooky, shining from the kitchen, together with her black daughter and her black son, and one or two more half-naked negroes, came into the room, and continued moving about during all the time of dinner, on one pretence or other, but, in reality, merely to see how the strange people ate their food.

About noon on the day of which the close has just been described, the scenery of the country through which we were passing unexpectedly changed. I say unexpectedly, because, when one gets into an American pine barren, it looks as if it would never end. The face of the country was entirely changed; for, instead of the dreary forest, it was covered with cheerful oak openings, as they are called, and occasionally with extensive cleared spots of ground, covered with fields of Indian corn, orchards, and Upland cotton plantations. The surface no longer drawn into rolling waves, was very prettily diversified by irregular high grounds and wooded glens, decked with peach-trees, all in full blossom. The dogwood, also, which bears a snow-white flower, was in great beauty, together with our old friend, the honeysuckle, growing as a tall independent shrub, and giving much interest

to the underwood part of the scenery. But on pulling any of these showy plants, we missed the fragrance which we had been accustomed to associate with them in their more cherished state. Perhaps the same remark will hold pretty generally in the world, animate, as well as inanimate;—the higher the culture, the richer the fruit, the flowers, the perfume.

On the 27th of March, we reached the town of Macon, at eleven o'clock, wellnigh famished for want of our breakfast. As we had only fifteen miles to travel, we made pretty sure of getting in by nine, provided we started at six. But the roads were so bad, we thought we should never arrive. We had not only to go up and down hills, so steep that we feared we should be dashed to pieces, but to cross gullies, and fords, and broken bridges innumerable. I never saw a country so cut up, to say nothing of the stumps and roots of fallen trees, through which we had to navigate, with no small hazard, like a ship amongst the coral reefs of Bermuda.

On arriving at Macon, we discovered that the perch of the carriage was broken; but luckily, also, we found out a coachmaker, an Englishman, who was so delighted to see folks from 'the Old Country,' that he exerted himself manfully, and before night repaired all our damages.

Macon appeared to be in the South, exactly such a town as Utica or Syracuse in the North, or any other of those recently erected towns in the western parts of the State of New York. It had not the vehement bustle of Rochester, it is true, but it resembled that singular village not a little in its juvenile character, and might have been taken for one of its suburbs. The woods were still growing in some of the streets, and the stumps were not yet grubbed up in others. The houses looked as if they had been put up the day before, so that you smelt the saw-mill every where. The signs and sign-posts were newly painted; the goods exposed before the doors were piled up, as if just lifted out of the waggons; the bars at the numberless grocery stores, alias grog-shops, were glittering with new bottles and glasses, barrels of hollands, whisky, and rum. The inhabitants were unacquainted with one another's residence; and I had to go to eight or ten houses in quest of one gentleman for whom I had a letter. As yet the streets had no names, but they were laid out with perfect regularity, as I could discover by stakes here and there at the corners, and by rows of the Pride-of-India-trees planted along both sides, in a sort of mockery, as it seemed, of the grim old forest, which was frowning all round on these pigmy works of man. This town of Macon, though

founded in 1823, had not yet worked its way to the maps and road-books. At its first establishment, it was thought the navigation of the river Ocmulgee, on which it stands, might be so much improved, that a communication could be opened with the sea-coast of Georgia, and, consequently, that a great portion of the produce of the upper part of that state would find its way to Macon as a depot. But these expectations not being realized, the rage for settling there had given place to newer fashions; other situations had been preferred, and this city, which, in the opinion of its founders, was to have been one of the greatest in all the South, it was now feared would soon vanish altogether.

In the course of the day's journey, we passed through a place called Dublin, on the banks of the Oconee river. It also had already felt the effect of these withering causes. And we saw several others, the mushroom growth of rapid and unthinking speculation. The inhabitants of some of these juvenile but decaying towns explained to me, that much of the evil which I saw arose from the unfortunate description of their labouring population. According to all accounts, indeed, the energies of every country where slavery is found are sadly cramped. The whites work, as they expressed it to me, with a clog round their feet, like convicts!

"We, sir," said a gentleman to me, one day, "we are the slaves, not the blacks; we cannot make them work as men ought to work, neither can we get rid of them, nor supply their place with better subjects;—they hang about us, and grow up, increasing and multiplying all our curses. They are the only people who do not care how things go on. You see them always happy, and they have no wants."

I could observe, however, very distinctly, that in proportion as the distance from the coast increased, the condition of the negroes was materially improved. We often saw them working in the same field with white men; and I more than once saw a black man seated in the same room with a free person—a thing never dreamt of elsewhere. They appeared to be better fed, and better dressed also, than the negroes of the coast; and, from all I could hear, were fully better treated in all respects, and not so generally kept in ignorance. The beneficial effects of this difference in the condition of the slaves, even to the masters, I was rejoiced to learn, was generally acknowledged.

On the 28th of March we travelled onwards to the west, till we reached the Old Agency, a station on the Flint River, the first stream we came to which empties itself into the Gulf of Mexico. Till within these last six or seven years, the country

over which we passed had been inhabited exclusively by the Creek Indians. For a considerable time the Flint River had been their eastern boundary, but they had recently been removed still farther to the westward, and, at the time of our visit, the Chatahoochie River was the dividing line between them and the Georgians. The detail of the proceedings, by which these aboriginal inhabitants of the soil were dispossessed of their property, and obliged to go in search of fresh homes, forms one of the most painful chapters in the history of America.

This part of the journey through the Indian nation, as it is still called, we had often been told, in the North, was likely to prove the most formidable part of our enterprise. But we had recently been subjected to so much severer discipline in the way of roads, fare, and accommodation, in our passage through Georgia from the coast, that we considered this quite luxurious travelling.

On the 31st of March we reached the Creek Agency, lying on the right or western bank of the Chatahoochie, and from that point made an expedition to a very curious place.

About a year before the period of our visit, that is to say, in the course of 1827, an arrangement was completed by the government of the United States, by which the Creek nation of Indians were

induced to quit the territory lying between the Chatahoochie and the Flint rivers, and to move westward within the limits of the State of Alabama; thus leaving the vast intermediate district of country at the disposal of the Georgians. It seems that, according to the laws of Georgia, any land so acquired, by what is called the extinction of the Indian claims, is divided, by lottery, amongst the inhabitants of the State. Every citizen 21 years of age has one draw, as it is called, a married man two draws, a married man with a family three. I forget the farther particulars, and have mislaid the act of the legislature upon the subject. I believe, however, that the lots were of 202½ acres each. Be these details, however, as they may, the whole of the country, formerly occupied by a few Indians, was no sooner acquired, than it was divided, in the way I have mentioned, amongst the people of that State.

When this distribution took place, however, the State government reserved a portion of the country, five miles square, upon which they proposed to found a city. The situation chosen for this purpose was a spot on the left bank of the Chatahoochie, which is the boundary line between the State of Georgia and Alabama. The new city was to commence at the lower end of a long series of falls, or, more properly speaking, rapids, over which

this great river dashes for some miles in a very picturesque manner. The perpendicular fall being about 200 feet, an immense power for turning mills is placed at the disposal of the inhabitants of the future city, within the limits of which the whole of this valuable portion of the river has been included. All the way down to the Gulf of Mexico, also, the navigation of the Chatahoochie is unimpeded, so that several steam-boats had already made their way up to the spot I am speaking of.

By a law of the State of Georgia, it was arranged that 60 days should elapse, after this portion of land reserved for the city was completely surveyed, before any of the building lots could be sold. These lots were to consist of half an acre each, and the whole five miles square was to be distinctly marked out in streets, on paper, and being numbered and lettered accordingly, they were to be advertised for sale over the whole Union. These sixty days were considered sufficient to enable adventurers, settlers, land-speculators, merchants, and all others so disposed, to come to the spot preparatory to the auction.

The project took like wildfire; and the advantages of the new city being loudly proclaimed over the land, people flocked from all quarters to see and judge of it for themselves. We arrived, fortunately, just in the nick of time to see the curious

phenomenon of an embryo town—a city as yet without a name, or any existence in law or fact, but crowded with inhabitants, ready to commence their municipal duties at the tap of an auctioneer's hammer.

On leaving the Creek Agency, we drove for some miles along the Indian, or western side of the river, and then crossed over by a ferry to the left bank. In order to see things better, we sent on the carriage, and walked towards Columbus, which, it was understood, was to be the future name of the future city.

A gentleman—one of the assembled inhabitants—had been kind enough to accompany us from the Agency, to show off the Lions of this singular place. The first thing to which he called our attention, was a long line cut through the coppice-wood of oaks. This, our guide begged us to observe, was to be the principal street; and the brush-wood having been cut away, so as to leave a lane four feet wide, with small stakes driven in at intervals, we could walk along it easily enough. On reaching the middle point, our friend, looking around him, exclaimed, in raptures at the prospect of the future greatness of Columbus—"Here you are in the centre of the city!" In a very short time, he assured us, it would be no longer a mere path, but a street sixty yards wide, and one league

in length! By keeping a bright look-out as we proceeded, we could detect other similar cuts into the forest, branching off at right angles to this main avenue—as it was to be called. As yet, however, these cross streets were only indicated by a few stakes driven in by the surveyors.

After threading our way for some time amongst the trees, we came in sight, here and there, of huts made partly of planks, partly of bark, and at last reached the principal cluster of houses, very few of which were above two or three weeks old. These buildings were of all sizes, from a six-feet box or cube, to a house with half-a-dozen windows in front. There were three hotels, the sign belonging to one of which, I could observe, was nailed to a tree still growing untouched in the middle of the street. Another had glazed windows, but the panes of glass were fixed in their places merely for the time, by a little piece of putty at each corner. Every thing indicated hurry. The direction and width alone of the future streets were adhered to, but no other description of regularity could be discovered. As none of the city lots were yet sold, of course no one was sure that the spot upon which he had pitched his house would eventually become his own. Every person, it seemed, was at liberty to build where he could find room, it being understood that forty days after the

sale would be allowed him to remove his property from the ground on which it stood, should he not himself become its purchaser. In consequence of this understanding, many of the houses were built on trucks—a sort of low, strong wheels, such as cannon are supported by—for the avowed purpose of being hurled away when the land should be sold. At least sixty frames of houses were pointed out to me, lying in piles on the ground, and got up by the carpenters on speculation, ready to answer the call of future purchasers. At some parts of this strange scene, the forest, which hereabouts consists of a mixture of pines and oaks, was growing as densely as ever; and even in the most cleared streets some trees were left standing, I do not well know why. As yet there had been no time to remove the stumps of the felled trees, and many that had been felled were left in their places; so that it was occasionally no easy matter to get along. Anvils were heard ringing away merrily at every corner; while saws, axes, and hammers were seen flashing amongst the woods all round. Stage-coaches, travelling waggons, carts, gigs, the whole family of wheeled vehicles, innumerable, were there. Grocery stores and bakeries were scattered about in great plenty—and over several doors was written, "Attorney at Law."

One of the commissioners, from the State of

Georgia, who had the management of this extraordinary experiment in colonization, assured me, there were upwards of nine hundred inhabitants already collected together, though it was expected that four months must still elapse before the sale could take place, or the city have any legal existence! Many of these people, being without houses, or even sheds, were encamped in the forest. Some lived in waggons, and many persons strolled about, to pick up quarters and employment where they best could. As all sorts of artificers were in great demand, it was a fine harvest for carpenters and blacksmiths. I was told that, upon a moderate computation, there would probably be assembled, on the day of sale, between three and four thousand people, ready to inhabit the new city. I can well believe this, for, during the short period we were there, many new-comers dropped in from different directions, out of the forest—like birds of prey attracted by the scent of some glorious quarry.

It must have been a curious sight, after the auction, to witness the scatter which took place when the parties came to claim each his own property—to demolish or remove the old, and raise the new dwellings—to say nothing of the entangled machinery of police and other municipal arrangements—the mayor and aldermen to get up,—the town taxes to levy;—the school,—the jail,—the court-house,

—the church, all to be erected. In other places, these things rise up by degrees—but here they must have taken their date all at once, and all in a body!

I could form no idea, from what I saw or heard on the spot, how this strangely concocted town would get on;—nor have I ever since been able to learn one syllable respecting its progress. For it is one of the melancholy but inevitable circumstances which attend travelling in remote countries, that we often make acquaintance with persons or with circumstances highly interesting in themselves, and with which it would be the greatest pleasure to maintain some future intercourse; yet, in spite of all our endeavours, they drop out of our knowledge, and often out of our memory, almost as much as if they had been merely dreams. I at least have frequently come across remarks in my old Journals, so foreign to my present thoughts and feelings, and have met with descriptions of things, all memory of which has so completely fled, that if my own unchanged handwriting were not before me, I could scarcely be persuaded that there was no deception.

CHAPTER XII.

On the 1st day of April, 1828, we crossed the river Chatahoochie, and entered the country of the Creek Indians. At the Agency, and along the sides of the road, for a considerable distance, we saw crowds of those miserable wretches who had been dislodged from their ancient territory to the eastward of the river, but had not yet taken root in the new lands allotted to them. It is true, they had received a pecuniary compensation on the extinction of their titles to the land of their forefathers; yet they were men of far too improvident habits to have brought their new lands into cultivation; and consequently, when their stock of money was expended, they were left in a state bordering on starvation. In similar circumstances, a party of New Englanders would have cleared away the trees, built themselves houses, and the whole right bank of the river, with every other spot of fertile soil, would have been under the plough

in half the time. But to these poor Indians, who had lived chiefly by hunting, and whose farming operations were confined to a garden near their huts, the labour of clearing a new country was quite out of the question; and great numbers of them actually perished from want. The United States agent, however, I was glad to see, was assisting them with provisions and clothing, and I have no doubt relieved their distress materially. As we left the Chatahoochie behind us, and travelled through the woods to the westward, we gradually lost sight of that part of the Creek tribe who were wandering about like bees whose hive has been destroyed, and came upon Indians of the same race, who were still allowed to live on the lands which had descended to them from their ancestors.

On the evening of the second day, after leaving Columbus, we reached the house of another of the United States agents, who resides among the Indians, and is one of the channels of communication between them and the government. We could not have arrived at a more fortunate moment, as it was the eve of one of their grand ball-plays; an exhibition, the agent told us, well worth seeing—from its being a perfectly genuine, unsophisticated display of the Indians who had resided on the spot from time immemorial. The play itself was to take place next morning; but our considerate host advised me

to see the preparatory ceremonies, and very kindly offered to accompany me to one of their council squares, distant about a league from his house.

It appears, that the inhabitants of one Indian village always play against those of another; and as these games are not mere matters of sport, but the chief object of their lives, a great deal of ceremony and many previous arrangements are necessary.

The moon rose when we were about half way to the scene where the Indians were assembled. The night was bright and frosty, and so perfectly still, that we could hear the shrill cries of the savages, and the thumpings of their barbarous music, at the distance of more than a mile. The pine barren, seen by moonlight, had a very striking appearance; and so had one of the Indian villages through which we passed. It consisted of about twenty log huts, each of them guarded by a brace of dogs, which, in the absence of their masters, assembled in a circle round our horses, and made us glad enough to pass on.

We found the Indians in a square court, about twenty yards across, formed by four covered sheds, in which were seated several of the chiefs, and more than a hundred of the other natives. In each of these sheds there was erected a raised shelf or floor, about a foot and a half from the ground,

sloping towards the court, and covered by a smooth, hard mat, made of split canes, sewed together. On this the principal Indians were seated in state, cross-legged, or stretched, with equal dignity, at their full length.

In the middle of the court blazed an immense fire of pitch-pine wood, the light from which, added to that of the moon, which was now well up, made every thing quite distinct. Round the fire sat, or rather squatted, about a dozen elderly Indians—none of them much encumbered with clothing—smoking pipes, which they handed from one to the other, laughing and shouting with great animation, and turning back from time to time to speak to another circle of younger men, who were standing near enough to warm themselves, or even to reach over the heads of the seniors to catch up a piece of burning timber to light their pipes with.

On one side of the illuminated square, in the front part of the shed, sat two musicians, one of whom was hammering away with his fingers on a drum, formed of a piece of deer-skin stretched over the hollowed trunk of a tree, while the other kept time with a large gourd containing a handful of gravel. In the square itself, and fronting the shed, in which were placed this primitive orchestra, twenty squaws, or female Indians, were ranged in a semicircle, with their backs to the rest of the

company—such being, I suppose, the fashionable etiquette amongst the Creeks. As these ladies never once turned round their faces, I am saved the delicate task of describing their looks. Their dance, however, if the very slight movements of their feet and bodies could be so called, was merely a sort of wriggle of the body; but, as the whole party kept excellent time in these movements, it had a most ludicrous appearance. At every fourth or fifth bar, they all struck in with a short, faint, sharp cry, of a particularly wild, and, I thought, somewhat mournful sound. These damsels wore no head-dress, but allowed their black, oily hair to hang down upon their necks and shoulders, over which was thrown, most decorously, a gaudy cotton shawl—weaved, for aught I know, in Manchester or Paisley.

I was sitting beside the principal chief, and thinking the scene rather dull, which he perhaps suspected, when he uttered a few words of command. In a moment about thirty young Indians flew to the side of the court, where each of them snatched up a couple of the sticks, or bats, used in the ball-play afterwards to be described. After marshalling themselves for a minute or two, they rushed forward again like so many demons, till they formed a circle round the fire, yelling, screaming, and shouting all the time, in the most

horrible way, tumbling heels over head, performing various capers, and waving their sticks, as if they had been frantic. I have no idea of any thing being more completely savage, nor shall I soon forget the way in which their shrieks pierced through and through my head.

After this exhibition was over, torches were ordered, and I was invited by another of the chiefs to adjourn to a neighbouring building, an immense hut, of a flat, conical shape, rising in the centre to the height of at least thirty feet, and measuring about sixty or perhaps eighty feet across the floor. It had no wall, as the roof, which was thatched, reached to the ground. A circular seat, skirting the inside, ten feet broad, touched the roof all the way round. In the middle of the sandy floor a fire was burning, round which were assembled some of the most athletic young men of the village, who had been previously selected by the elders as performers in the next day's sport.

These youths were not long in stripping off all their clothes, except a slight wrapper round the middle. I could see at once that something remarkable was about to take place, but what it was I could not conjecture. Their first operation was, to tie cords tightly round one another's arms and thighs, so as effectually to check the course of the blood in the veins. As soon as this was done, they

splashed themselves over with water from head to foot, and then very deliberately allowed their limbs to be scratched, or rather scarified, by some old Indians, who attended for that purpose, with instruments, the name of which I forget. Some of these were made of common needles stuck in a piece of wood, but those most in fashion were formed out of the teeth of the fish called Gar. I purchased one of them, which is now in my possession; it consists of two rows, one of fifteen, the other of fourteen sharp teeth, tied firmly, by means of a grass fibre, to the core of the maize, or to what is called in America a corn-cob.

Each of the young Indians, who was to be operated upon, placed himself in a sloping position against one of the wooden pillars which supported the roof, clasping it with his hands. The experienced performers then drew the instrument I have just described, apparently as hard as he could press it, along the arms and legs of these resolute fellows, over a space of about nine inches in length, so that each of the teeth cut into the skin, or, at all events, made a very decided mark, or furrow, along the surface. The sharp sound of these scrapings was very disagreeable to the ear.

Five separate scratchings were made on each man's leg below the knee, five on each thigh, and five on each arm; in all, thirty sets of cuts. As

the instrument contained about thirty teeth, each Indian must in every case have had several hundred lines drawn on his skin. The blood flowed profusely as long as the bandages were kept tight. This, indeed, seemed to be one of their principal objects, as the Indians endeavoured to assist the bleeding by throwing their arms and legs about, holding them over, and sometimes placing them almost in, the fire, for a second or two. It was altogether a hideous and frightful scene. For my own part, I scarcely knew how to feel when I found myself amongst some dozens of naked savages, streaming with blood from top to toe, skipping and yelling round a fire, or talking at the top of their voices in a language of which I knew nothing, or laughing as merrily as if it were the best fun in the world to be cut to pieces. Not one of these lads uttered the slightest complaint during the operation; but when I watched their countenances closely, I observed that only two or three bore the discipline without shrinking, or twisting their faces a little.

I was told that these scarifications and bleedings render the men more limber and active, and bring them into proper condition to undergo the exertion of the ball-play on the following morning. I don't know how this may be with my friends the Creeks; but I suspect half-a-dozen of the cuts, of

which each of these young fellows received some hundreds, would have laid me up for a week!

Next day, at nine o'clock, on the 3d of April, we set out for the scene of this famous Indian game; and, after wandering about for some time, we found the spot in the bosom of the forest, at the distance of a mile or two from the road. It consisted of an open space about 200 yards in length by 20 yards wide, from which the trees had been cleared away, though the grass was left untouched, nor was the surface even levelled. At each end of this area two green boughs were thrust into the ground, six feet apart from each other, as a sort of wicket. The object of the game, it afterwards appeared, was to drive the ball between these boughs; and whichever party succeeded in accomplishing this, counted one.

As the natives had reported that the play would begin at ten o'clock, we hurried to the ground; but when we got there, we could discover no symptoms of business; not a soul was to be seen, and we had the whole forest to ourselves. In process of time a few straggling Indians joined us; but it was fully three hours after the time specified before the contending parties made their appearance. I have regretted ever since that I did not employ this interval in sketching some of these most elegant groups with the Camera Lucida; but,

until it was all over, this never once occurred to me; and thus I let slip the only opportunity which the whole journey—I may say, my whole life—presented of drawing these interesting savages in a leisurely way.

By one o'clock the surrounding space was thickly speckled over with Creek women, accompanied by numerous squads of copper-coloured little Creekies; but still the real parties in the contest were nowhere to be seen.

From time to time, indeed, we had sufficient indications of their being somewhere in the neighbourhood, from the loud shrieks or yells raised by a great number of voices in chorus, which issued from the forest, sometimes on one side, and sometimes on the other; but not a soul was yet visible. The agent and I, being tempted to walk, upon one occasion, in the direction of these cries, came to an opening where some forty or fifty naked savages were lying flat on the grass, seemingly in a state of listlessness, or fatigue from the preceding night's dissipation. On moving a little further on, we came to various parties at their toilet. Some of these dandies of the woods were busily employed in painting one eye black, the other yellow. Several youths, more wealthy than the rest, I suppose, were thrusting long black feathers into their turbans, or cloths which they had wound round

their heads, much in the style of Orientals. Others were fitting their naked bodies with tails, to resemble tigers and lions, having already daubed and streaked themselves over from head to foot with a variety of colours, intended to set off the coppery tinge of their own red skins—anxious that art might co-operate as far as might be with nature, in making them look as much like wild beasts as possible.

At last, a far louder cry than we had yet heard burst from the woods in the opposite direction. Upon looking up, we saw the Indians of the other party advancing to the ball-play-ground in a most tumultuous manner, shrieking, yelling, hallooing, brandishing their sticks, performing somersets, and exhibiting all conceivable antics. At this stage of the game, I was forcibly reminded of the pictures in Cook's Voyages, where multitudes of the South Sea Islanders are represented as rushing forward to attack the boats. This resemblance was heightened by the similarity of the dress, or rather of the undress; for, with the exception of an occasional wrapper across the brow, and a small, square, dark-coloured cloth, about one-quarter as big as a pocket handkerchief, tied by a slender cord round the middle, most of them were exactly as Dame Nature turned them out of hand.

There were fifty of the inhabitants of one village

pitted against fifty of another; and the players, being selected from the strongest, nimblest, and most spirited of the whole tribe, the party offered some of the finest specimens of the human form I ever beheld. While waiting for the appointed time of action, the natives stretched themselves on the grass, or stood with their arms folded, or leaned against the trees; but all of them unconsciously fell into attitudes of such perfect ease and gracefulness, as would have enchanted the heart of a painter.

Heretofore I had hardly ever seen Indians, except lounging about on the roadsides, wrapped in dirty blankets, begging for tobacco, or stealing, like strange dogs, timorously, and more than half tipsy, through the streets. At all events, I had so little idea that the race was possessed either of activity or of any beauty of form, that had I been asked, the day before this ball-play, what I thought of the Indians in these respects, I might have answered, that they are all bow-legged, slouchy, ungraceful, and inactive. Whereas, in point of fact, the very reverse of all this is true.

The first party, on rushing out of the woods in the manner I have described, danced, in the same noisy and tumultuous fashion, round the two green boughs at their end of the ground. After this first explosion, they advanced more leisurely

to the middle of the cleared space, where they squatted down in a thick cluster till their antagonists made their appearance. The same ceremonies were observed by the second party, after which they settled down likewise on the grass in a body. The two groups remained eyeing one another for a long time, occasionally uttering yells of defiance.

At a signal from one of the chiefs, the two parties suddenly sprung to their feet, and stood brandishing their sticks over their heads. Every player held one of these implements in each hand. They were formed of light, tough wood, I think willow, about two feet long, and as thick as my thumb. At the end farthest from the hand, the sticks were split and formed into an oval, three inches long by two wide, across which opening, or loop, were stretched two thongs made of hide. By means of these bats, the ball was struck to a great distance whenever any of the players succeeded in hitting it fairly. This, however, was not very often the case, for reasons which will be stated immediately. Generally speaking, the ball was grasped or held between the ends of the two sticks, and carried along over the head by the fortunate player who had got hold of it. The ball was pretty much like that used in Tennis courts, only not so hard, being formed out of raw hide stuffed with deer's hair.

After the parties had stood for some minutes in silence, in two rows facing one another, they stepped forward till they came within the distance of a few feet. Upon some word of command being given by one of the chiefs, every one laid down his sticks before him on the ground. A deputation of the chiefs highest in rank now proceeded to examine and count the parties, in order to make sure of there being an equal number on both sides. All these ceremonies, and various others which I forget, being ended, an old man stood forward and made a speech, or talk, as it is called, which, being interpreted to us, appeared to be formed of injunctions to the combatants to observe fair play, and to do honour to their country upon this important occasion. As soon as he ceased, the Indians scattered themselves over the ground, according to some rules not unlike those of cricket, by which the players might intercept the ball, and send it back again in the right direction. I observed that each of the goals, or wickets, formed by the two boughs at the ends, was guarded by a couple of the most expert players, whose duty it was to prevent the ball passing through the opening—the especial object of their antagonists.

These long-protracted ceremonials and preparations being over, one of the chiefs, having advanced to the centre of the area, cast the ball high in

the air. As it fell, between twenty and thirty of the players rushed forward, and, leaping several feet off the ground, tried to strike it. The multiplicity of blows, acting in different directions, had the effect of bringing the ball to the ground, where a fine scramble took place, and a glorious clatter of sticks mingled with the cries of the savages. At length an Indian, more expert than the others, contrived to nip the ball between the ends of his two sticks, and, having managed to fork it out, ran off with it like a deer, with his arms raised over his head, pursued by the whole party engaged in the first struggle. The fortunate youth was, of course, intercepted in his progress twenty different times by his antagonists, who shot like hawks across his flight from all parts of the field, to knock the prize out of his grasp, or to trip him up—in short, by any means to prevent his throwing it through the opening between the boughs at the end of the play-ground. Whenever this grand purpose of the game was accomplished, the successful party announced their right to count one by a fierce yell of triumph, which seemed to pierce the very depths of the wilderness. It was sometimes highly amusing to see the way in which the Indian who had got hold of the ball contrived to elude his pursuers. It is not to be supposed he was allowed to proceed straight to the goal, or wicket,

or even to get near it; but, on the contrary, he was obliged, in most cases, to make a circuit of many hundred yards amongst the trees, with thirty or forty swift-footed fellows stretching after or athwart him, with their fantastic tigers' tails streaming behind them; and he, in like manner, at full speed, holding his sticks as high over his head as possible, sometimes ducking to avoid a blow, or leaping to escape a trip, sometimes doubling like a hare, and sometimes tumbling at full length, or breaking his shins on a fallen tree, but seldom losing hold of his treasure without a severe struggle. It really seemed as if the possessor of the ball upon these occasions had a dozen pair of eyes, and was gifted for the time with double speed; for, in general, he had not only to evade the attacks of those who were close to him, but to avoid being cut off, as it is called in nautical language, by the others farther ahead. These parts of the game were exciting in the highest degree, and it almost made the spectators breathless to look at them.

Sometimes the ball, when thrown up in the first instance by the chief, was reached and struck by one of the party before it fell to the ground. On these occasions, it was driven far amongst the pine-trees, quite out of sight to our eyes, but not to those of the Indians, who darted towards the spot, and drove it back again. In general, however, they

contrived to catch the ball before it fell, and either to drive it back, or to grasp it and run along, as I have described, towards the end of the ground. Sometimes they were too eager to make much noise; but whenever a successful blow was made, the people on the winning side uttered a short yell, so harsh and wild that it made my blood run cold every time I heard it, from being associated with tortures, human sacrifices, scalpings, and all the horrors of Indian warfare.

The notation of the game was most primitive. Two of the oldest and most trustworthy of the chiefs were seated on one side, each with ten small sticks in his hand, one of which was thrust into the sand every time the ball happened to be driven through the wicket. Twenty was game; but I observed these learned sages never counted higher than ten, so that when it became necessary to mark eleven, the whole ten sticks were pulled out, and one of them replaced.

Sometimes the ball fell amongst the groups of lookers-on, the women and children of the different Indian villages. It did not signify a straw, however, who was in the way; all respect of persons, age, and sex, was disregarded, in the furious rush of the players, whose whole faculties seemed concentrated in the game alone.

The agent had previously taught me the art of

avoiding the mischief of these whirlwind rushes of the Indians; and it was fortunate for me that he did so. I was standing on one side of the ground, admiring a grand chase, which was going on at some considerable distance, when one of the players, who was watching his opportunity, intercepted the fugitive, and struck the ball out of the other's grasp, though he was bounding along with it at a prodigious rate. The ball pitched within a yard or two of the spot where I was standing. In the next instant a dozen or twenty Indians whizzed past me as if they had been projected from cannons. I sprung to the nearest tree, as I had been instructed, and putting my hands and legs round, embraced it with all my might. A poor boy, however, close to me, had not time to imitate my example, and being overwhelmed by the multitude, was rolled over and over half-a-dozen times, in spite of his screams, which were lost in the clatter of sticks, and the yells and the shouts of the combatants, who by this time had become animated by the exercise, and were letting out the secret of their savage nature very fast. I felt rather awkward, I must confess, as they rushed against me, and very nearly scraped me off; but I held fast, and escaped with a good daubing of resin from the pine-tree. In half a minute afterwards the contest was raging some hundreds of yards off.

We did not stay to see the end of the game, as there was danger of our being benighted, an event which happened, however, notwithstanding all our precautions. I have since regretted much that I did not profit as far as I might have done by this only opportunity I ever had, or am ever likely to have, of seeing the habits of these people, who are fast vanishing from the face of the earth. After the game is over, the agent told me the opposite parties are frequently so much excited, that they fall to in earnest, and try the strength of their sticks on each other's heads. A row in the forest amongst its native inhabitants would have been well worth seeing, and I do not know what induced me to let slip such a chance. An idea often comes across travellers, that what they have actually before them, may be commanded at any time, and accordingly they are much too careless in availing themselves of the means really within their grasp, and lose half their advantages in the vain expectation of better opportunities arising. Besides which, various other circumstances come into play at these moments to encourage the wanderer's indolence. He may be tired, or hungry, or dispirited, or he may be so entirely out of conceit, as it is called, with the whole journey, and every thing connected with it, that he may wonder why he ever undertook the expedition, and heartily wish it over. At such times all things

are seen through a bilious medium of languid indifference, the most fatal of all to energetic observation and research, and of course still more fatal to lively description.

It frequently occurred to me, when looking at this animated game, that it might be introduced with great effect at the public schools in England, and I hope my description may suffice for the purpose of explaining the details. There is no reason, indeed, why the young men of Eton or Harrow should paint one eye green and the other yellow, or daub their legs and arms with lamp-black. Neither is there any thing essential in having a tiger's tail behind, or that their dress should be reduced to the small compass considered fashionable by these worthy Aborigines. Nor, I think, need they consider it right to scarify their limbs with a comb made of fishes' teeth, or to dance all the preceding night round a blazing wood fire in the open air; still less to get drunk on whisky after the game is over—indispensable conditions amongst the Creek Indians in the forests of Alabama.

CHAPTER XIII.

On the 3d of April, 1828, we reached Montgomery, one of the principal towns in Alabama, standing on the left or eastern bank of the great river which gives its name to that State. Montgomery lies at the distance of three or four hundred miles by water from Mobile, on the Gulf of Mexico, though not more than a hundred and fifty in a direct line, this immense difference being expended in the windings of the stream. Next day, the 4th of April, we embarked on board the steamboat Herald, and proceeded at the rate of about fifteen miles an hour, allowing five for the stream, and ten for the boat. The Alabama runs through an alluvial country, in a deep cut or trench, with perpendicular sides, rising to the height of sixty or eighty feet. The strata are exactly horizontal, and as the river had recently subsided from the high level at which it had stood during the previous flood, the water was gushing out from mil-

lions of springs, and pouring in curious cascades into the main stream. The river had risen 64 perpendicular feet during a recent high Fresh, which was general over the Southern States, and some of the effects of which I had occasion to mention before, when we were on the Alatamaha, in Georgia. The traces of this great rise were well marked on the banks; but the exact height was communicated to me by a gentleman who came on board the boat from the town of Selma. He had made a notch, he told me, in a tree, when the river was at the highest, and afterwards dropped a plumb line to the lowest level, when the waters had subsided.

Generally speaking, we had found steam-boat travelling extremely disagreeable, but now we were so completely worn out with the fatigues of the journey across Georgia and through the Indian nation, that we enjoyed the relief exceedingly. The chief source of comfort was finding ourselves in a place where we were boarded, lodged, and conveyed swiftly along, without effort on our part,—we had no chases after poultry,—no cooking to attend to,—not so much extra company to encumber us,—no fords or crazy bridges to cross,—no four-o'clock risings, or midnight travelling,—no broiling at noon, or freezing at night,—and lastly, but not least, no mosquitoes.

On our way from Montgomery to Mobile, which

lies near the mouth of the Alabama, on the north shore of the Gulf of Mexico, we called at about twenty different places to take on board bales of cotton. Indeed, we soon found we had got completely into the country of that great staple, for nothing else seemed to be thought or talked of. Numberless persons came on board at each landing-place, some to take a passage, some merely to gossip—but whatever might be the ostensible object, cotton was the sole topic. Every flaw of wind from the shore wafted off the smell of that useful plant; at every dock or wharf we encountered it in huge piles or pyramids of bales, and our decks were soon choked up with it. All day, and almost all night long, the captain, pilot, crew, and passengers, were talking of nothing else; and sometimes our ears were so wearied with the sound of cotton! cotton! cotton! that we gladly hailed a fresh inundation of company in hopes of some change—but alas! Wiggin's Landing, or Chocktaw Creek, or the towns of Gaines, or Cahawba, or Canton, produced us nothing but fresh importations of the raw material. "What's cotton at?" was the first eager enquiry. "Ten cents."—"Oh, that will never do!" From the cotton in the market, they went to the crops in the fields—the frost which had nipped their shoots—the bad times—the overtrading—and so round to the prices and prospects again and again,

till I wished all the cotton in the country at the bottom of the Alabama!

At one place, we nearly lost our passage when we got out to vary the scene by taking a look at the village of Clairborne. Before we had returned half way, however, we heard the steam-boat bell ringing through the woods—and very pretty woods they were, overhanging banks as steep, but not quite so high, as those of Niagara, all formed of layers of clay, not of rock. The boatmen were standing impatiently with the gang-board in their hands, ready to draw it away the moment we stepped into the vessel. In the next minute the paddles were in motion, and the tide catching the boat's bow, round she came. Away we dashed, urged by the current, and the impulse of a high-pressure engine, at such a rate, that the dripping banks, the plantations, the negro huts, the hundreds of cotton warehouses, flitted by us with a rapidity which looked very hazardous, as we steered round some of the sharp bends of the river, swooping along like the great Roc-bird described in the Arabian Nights.

That steam-navigation is yet in its infancy, is an original and forcible remark that one hears made about once every hour in every steam-boat. This may be true, or it may not; at all events, it is no

legitimate excuse for those errors of such a promising child, which might be easily corrected.

The boats on the Alabama are often obliged to anchor at night, in consequence of fogs or darkness, and the uncertainty as to where they are. Now, every seaman knows, that the advantage of anchoring at night, under such circumstances, is that he can fix his vessel in a safe spot, there to remain snug till daylight. But this principle of keeping safe while you are so, is lost sight of by the officers of the Alabama steam-boats. The pilots think it necessary, before anchoring, to make a sheer, or sweep, in order to bring the boat's head up the stream before they let go the anchor. In doing this, the chances of running on a shoal, and all the other evils of uncertainty, are greatly augmented. It would be better seamanship to anchor by the stern, without winding the boat at all, but merely stopping the engine, and then dropping the anchor from the quarter. This evolution would take up the smallest space possible, instead of requiring a curve of two or three times the boat's length.

About ten or eleven o'clock on the night of the 6th of April, the third of our voyage from Montgomery, just as I put out the candle in the little state-room, I was disturbed by a portentous creaking of the rudder, a frequent ringing of the engineer's bell, mingled with loud cries of "Stop her!"

and " Back her!" At length came the tramp of many hurried feet over head; and I could hear the sound of a couple of oars tossed into the boat astern, which was then lowered down smartly. Off she rowed with a warp or line, which was to be made fast to a tree.

Had it been my own ship, I should have felt some uneasiness amid this prodigious bustle, but having paid my passage-money, I thought it needless to incur further cost in the shape of mental anxiety, by fussing myself about shoals and currents which I did not understand; so I lay quiet, till appealed to by sundry female passengers, who were not content to let things go on without notice, merely because they were without remedy. Accordingly I put on my slippers, and opened the door which overlooked the stern; but just as I did so, there was such a smash! crash! crack! as made our poor vessel tremble from end to end. Away went twigs, branches, and finally trunks of trees, all flapping about like so many whips. The fact was, the steam-boat, in the process of rounding to, for the purpose of anchoring, had either gathered stern-way, or been caught by an eddy, which carried her nether end fairly into the forest.

On the 7th of April, we reached what remained of Mobile, for the town had been almost entirely burnt down not quite six months before. But it

is an ill wind, they say, that blows nobody good, for this terrible accident—the ruin of thousands—was the cause, indirectly, of great comfort to us, by giving such a delightful rest to our weary feet, as they never would otherwise have got, but of which assuredly no travellers that ever left their comfortable home to wander in the backwoods, stood in more need.

One of the few buildings which had escaped the fire, was a large hotel, and this, as might be supposed, was overcrowded from top to bottom, so that we had to squeeze into a most uncomfortable corner. I bethought me, however, of a letter of introduction I had brought in my pocket, and sallied forth to try its efficacy. The first look of my friend gave me great hopes. We chatted together for some time about the great fire, the fable of the Phœnix, and so on. At last he said, "How are you lodged?"

"Why—not well—not very well—at least in this cold weather. Fatigued as we are, and worried with our recent hard journey, it is vexatious not to be able to get a room with a fire in it."

"No fire!" exclaimed my new acquaintance, "that will never do. I wish much that my wife were here, that she might receive Mrs Hall and her child, and then we might make you all welcome and happy."

My heart sunk within me at this difficulty, which I for a moment fancied might be what is called a get-off.

"Oh," said I, with more of an ambiguous tone, perhaps, than I wished should be seen, but with the painful image of a broken window and a damp cold room before me—"Oh, sir, we must do the best we can, and rough it out here as we did in the pine-barrens."

"Nay! nay!" cried my hospitable friend, "if you and Mrs Hall, who have been accustomed of late to rugged travelling and scanty accommodation, will accept of my empty house, it is at your service from this moment. The servants are all in it, and we shall try to make you feel yourselves at home."

I endeavoured to make some sort of civil answer, declining the offer—but the words stuck in my throat, like the Amen! of Macbeth;—for really the prospect of getting once more into a comfortable house was too great not to be grasped at. If any one thinks otherwise, I recommend him a fortnight's journey through the Southern States of America; and if that do not overcome his delicate scruples, all I can say is, he must be made of cast-iron—not of flesh and blood—as my poor party were.

I ran back to the inn with the joyful intelli-

gence, and we soon left our comfortless abode, for as neat and trig a little villa as ever was seen within or without the Tropics. This mansion, which in India would be called a Bungalow, was surrounded by white railings, within which lay an ornamental garden, intersected by gravel walks, almost too thickly shaded with orange hedges, all in flower. From a light, airy, broad verandah, we might look out upon the Bay of Mobile, covered with shipping, and in the distance, could see the land stretching away towards Florida, with the Gulf of Mexico far on the right. Many other similar houses, nearly as picturesque as our own delightful habitation, speckled the landscape in the south and east, in rich keeping with the luxuriant foliage of that ever-green latitude. Within doors the scenery was no less to the taste of the way-worn travellers. To our eyes all was luxury: attentive servants—sumptuous fare—smooth carpeted floors—soft chairs—voluptuous sofas—and hundreds of other comforts, which our past hardships taught us to enjoy with twenty-fold relish.

As it was six days before the steam-boat left Mobile for New Orleans, we had full time to recover from our fatigues; and I shall only say, that never was any act of hospitality so well bestowed as this most opportune kindness; or one which will leave more lasting gratitude upon our minds.

It was much more than enough to recompense us for all we had suffered in the way of fatigue or privation; and, indeed, the attendant circumstances of the visit were so agreeable, in every respect, that I feel strongly tempted to break through my rule, and give some account of the society to which our indefatigable and excellent host introduced us. I am hardly correct in calling him our host—he was rather our guest—for he gave his establishment so completely up to us, that it was not till some days had elapsed, that we accidentally discovered he even slept there. It is said to be a difficult art to make strangers feel perfectly at home; but to our generous friend at Mobile, who had this gift from nature, nothing seemed to be more easy. I hope it will be some small return for his kindness, to know, that we look back to that period as the most comfortable of any which we passed in the United States.

Instead of going to New Orleans, round by the mouth of the Mississippi, it will be seen by the map, that we coasted along, past numerous small, sandy islands, over shallow banks of mud, and through several immense basins, such as Lake Borgne and Lake Pontchartrain, half fresh, half salt, and filled with bars, spits, keys, and all the family of shoals, so tormenting to the navigator, but which he is ever sure to meet with abreast of such mighty

streams as the Ganges or the Mississippi, whose Deltas are silently pushing themselves into the sea, and raising the bottom to the surface. It almost bewilders the imagination to look so far forward, but nothing can be more certain, than that, in time, the Bay of Bengal and the Gulf of Mexico will both be dry and level plains.

We landed at a place called, I think, the Piquets, on the north side of the narrow strip of alluvial country which separates the Mississippi from Lake Pontchartrain, about six or seven miles from New Orleans, which stands on the left bank of the river. This short distance we passed over on a road skirting a sluggish Creek, or what is called a Bayou—a sort of natural canal joining the lakes and rivers all over the Delta, and running in the midst of a swamp overgrown with cypress and other thirsty trees, rising out of a thick, rank underwood. The City of New Orleans, which we reached before sunset, made no great show, from its being built on a dead level. But what struck us most were the old and narrow streets, the high houses, ornamented with tasteful cornices, iron balconies, and many other circumstances peculiar to towns in France and Spain; and pointing out the past history of this city fated to change its masters so often.

As soon as I got my party fairly lodged in the boarding house, I ran off to catch a sight of the

Mississippi before the twilight was gone. The first thing I saw was a tier of shipping, four or five deep. It was obvious at a glance, that their water line was several feet higher than the streets, and I soon discovered by another slight circumstance, that the ground sloped from the river. On each side of the way a stream of water was gushing along at a smart rate towards the town, not into the river, but actually from it.

In a few minutes I reached the embankment, or Levée, as it is termed, which confines the Mississippi when its surface is higher than that of the adjacent country—Here, through an opening between two vessels, I caught the first glimpse of the object I had so long wished to behold, and felt myself amply repaid at that moment, for all the trouble I had experienced in coming so far.

Having scrambled on board one of the ships lying at the Levée, I leaped into the rigging, and stood looking at the river flowing past till it was too dark to distinguish any thing. I was disappointed in its width, as it is not above half a mile across—whereas I expected to see it four times as broad. What struck me most, however, was the surface being six or seven feet higher than the level of the streets of New Orleans, and indeed of all the adjacent country

to the brim, that it seemed as if the smallest shake, or the least addition, would send it over the edge, and thus submerge the city. The foot-path, on the top of the Levée, or embankment, was just nine inches above the level of the stream. The colour of the water was a dirty, muddy, reddish sort of white; and the surface every where strongly marked with a series of curling eddies or swirls, indicative, I believe, of great depth.

Before leaving my post in the rigging, I began to feel that I had done injustice to the river at first; but it was not till after I had visited the same and similar spots a dozen times, that I came to a right comprehension of the grandeur of the scene.

At ten o'clock, in the morning of the 15th of April, I walked to that part of the Levée allotted to the steam-boats which ply up and down the Mississippi. Thirteen enormous vessels of this description were lying along the banks of the river. One of these, called the Amazon, was just setting off for Louisville, in Kentucky, upwards of fourteen hundred miles distant, in the heart of the continent, which they hoped to reach in ten or eleven days, though they had to go in the very teeth of the current.

These boats are employed exclusively upon the river, where the water is always smooth, and where

also they are well sheltered by the woods. These circumstances allow of their accommodations being raised to the height of twenty and sometimes nearly thirty feet above the water. They have two complete and distinct tiers of apartments. The upper one is appropriated entirely to what are called deck passengers, who pay a small sum of money, have no very luxurious accommodations, and provide themselves with food. The cabin passengers, or those who live in the lower apartments, fare differently, and are, of course, required to pay a higher sum for their passage.

When the Amazon pushed off there could not have been fewer than 150 men standing on the roof, or deck, of the upper tier of births, while in the lower gangways, passages, and balconies, or galleries, groups of ladies and gentlemen were moving about as if they had been in a fairy castle,—altogether a very lively and peculiar scene. Abreast of the town, a little further down the stream, alongside of the Levée, lay about a hundred very odd-looking craft as I ever saw afloat in any country.

These strange vessels are called arks; and truly they remind one very much of the pictures representing the flood, which one sees in children's books. They vary in length from forty to eighty or ninety feet, and in width from ten to fifteen or twenty

feet. They are flat-bottomed, perpendicular in their sides, square at the ends, and slightly curved at top. They are all made of rough planks, pinned together with wooden bolts, or treenails, as they are technically called.

It is in these arks that the produce of the interior of America, the grain, the salted meats, the spirits, the tobacco, the hemp, the skins, and the fruits of those vast regions bordering on the Missouri, the Ohio, and the Mississippi, are brought down to the ocean. And not only of those great rivers, but of the Arkansas, the Tennessee, the Wabash, and hundreds of others, tributaries to this great artery, as it is well called by the American writers. These arks generally drop down the stream in pairs, lashed side by side. During the day time they keep as nearly in the middle of the river as possible, in order to profit by the strength of the current. At night they make themselves fast to a tree. Four, five, and six men are generally found in each of these rude barks, for it requires several hands to guide them into the proper channel by means of enormous oars, fashioned in a rough way out of straight trees.

Of course, it is utterly impossible to stem the current with such vessels; and, accordingly, when they have reached New Orleans, and discharged their cargoes into the ships, or the warehouses of

that great emporium, they are broken up and the planks sold. In former days the crews were much adrift, as they had no other way of returning except by a long and dangerous land journey, through the swamps and forests that border the rivers; or they ascended the Mississippi, slowly and laboriously, in boats occasionally impelled by oars, but generally drawn up by a succession of warps, or lines, made fast to the trees. Sometimes these boats were pulled along by means of the branches overhanging the stream. In those days the voyage was an affair of three or four, and sometimes of nine months; but now the same people find an easy and cheap mode of returning, in ten days or a fortnight, to their homes. They merely take their passage on the deck of one of the numerous steamboats, which are constantly proceeding to the interior, and are speedily wafted back again, in company with manufactured goods from foreign countries, together with fish, salt, sugar, steel, iron, and all sorts of things suited to the markets of those multitudinous inland cities starting up every day in the heart of the western country.

In the evening, I went again to the Levée, to take leave of a friend who was returning to England, via New York, on board a packet ship, just about to start in tow of a steam-boat. When all the adieux were said, and every thing ready for moving,

it appeared that an apprentice boy, belonging to one of the neighbouring vessels, had run off, and, as it was alleged, was stowed away in the said packet. The mate of the ship from which the boy had deserted, came on board to make a domiciliary visit, and along with four or five of his own crew, commenced a hunt for the stray sheep. The sailors of the packet, either to skreen the culprit, or indignant at this attempt to enforce the right of search, resisted the proposed investigation. The negotiations upon this great question, which has already agitated nations, commenced with a dialogue of oaths and scurrility—both parties speaking at once, and, of course, showing the utmost determination not to understand each other. For a time, these provoking speeches and gestures were deemed sufficient indications of the mutual intentions of the parties. In a little while, the argument on one side was enforced by a shove, which was answered by the very reasonable question, "What do you mean by that?" accompanied, however, I should add, by a knock, which laid one of the seamen flat on the deck. In two seconds, there was a battle royal. The rest of the crew of the ship to which the apprentice belonged, flew to the rescue; and within less than a minute, six or eight couples were at it, pell mell. I never saw a more complete row, or, as a fellow near me called it, 'a

more regular shindy.' The rigging of all the surrounding vessels was soon crowded with spectators; and many seamen belonging to other ships, either from friendship to the parties, or from the sheer love of a 'lark,' joined in the combat, where they were speedily matched by other pugilistic amateurs. The forecastle, and indeed the whole of one side of the deck, was now covered with boxers, hammering away in such good earnest, that the blood was streaming in all directions.

The captain of the steam-boat, who was extremely anxious to be off, so as to get clear of the shipping before dark, stamped and raged through his trumpet—he might as well have ordered the river to stop! The masters of the ships tugged and kicked, and abused their respective crews—all to no purpose—fight they would, in spite of every interference, though not one man in a dozen knew why or wherefore.

The bowsprit of the packet in which this battle was raging, reached nearly over the stern of a ship called the Cooper, lying next ahead of her in the tier. The mate of that vessel, a fine, hearty fellow—up to any thing—after looking at the war for some time, could resist the temptation no longer, and swinging himself forwards by the signal haulyards hanging from the gaff of his own vessel, got on the jib-boom of the packet. In sidling along

the spar, he lost his balance, and as he turned over, missed the rope at which he caught, and plunged head foremost into the Mississippi. It is the popular belief on the spot, that no one, however good a swimmer, has ever been known to extricate himself from the boiling eddies of this mighty flood. Whether this be true or not, the instance before us went, alas! to confirm the rule—for the poor fellow was seen no more!

I had the satisfaction, while at New Orleans, to make acquaintance with M. Pilié the Surveyor-general, who furnished me with some interesting measurements of the Mississippi near the city.

At New Orleans, the difference between the level of the highest water and that of the lowest is thirteen feet eight inches perpendicular, English measure. The sea is distant from the city upwards of 100 miles, and as the tide is not felt so far, the rise and fall alluded to are caused exclusively by the rainy and dry seasons in the interior.

The Mississippi begins to rise generally in the month of January, and continues swelling till May. It remains full all June and considerable part of July, after which it begins to fall, and goes on decreasing in volume till September and October, when it is at the lowest. Sometimes, however, M. Pilié informed me, the river begins to rise in December.

At what is called high water at New Orleans, or when the river is fullest, the fall to the sea, or inclination of the surface, is about thirteen feet, or one inch and a half to a mile. At low water, the surface of the Mississippi at New Orleans, being nearly on a level with the sea, the flow is scarcely perceptible. The average height of the Levée, or retaining embankment, above the general level of the swampy lands, is about four feet, and at high water the surface of the river very nearly reaches the top. If, therefore, the perpendicular difference in the height of the river be about thirteen or fourteen feet, between the wet and the dry season at New Orleans, and that the fall from thence to the sea be thirteen feet, it follows, that if we take away four feet, the height of the artificial Levée above the ground, we shall get between nine and ten feet for the inclination of the Delta of the Mississippi, from that city to the sea.

In proportion as we ascend the river, we find the perpendicular space between the rise and fall of its surface to increase. Near the efflux of the river Lafourche, the rise and fall is twenty-three feet. This is about 150 miles from the sea. At a place called Baton Rouge, 200 miles from the sea, the pilot-books state the perpendicular rise and fall of the river at thirty feet. At Natchez, which is 380 miles from the sea, it is said to be

fifty feet. After it has flowed past Natchez, the volume of water in the Mississippi is dissipated over the Delta by such innumerable mouths, and overflows its banks at so many places, that the perpendicular rise and fall is of course much diminished. The velocity of the middle current seldom exceeds four miles an hour, any where between the confluence of the Ohio and the sea.

The width of the river at New Orleans at low water is 746 yards, which is somewhat less than half an English statute mile, being very nearly four-tenths;—the mile being 1760 yards. At high water it is 852½ yards broad, or 106½ more than at low water. This, however, is still under half-a-mile—being a little more than forty-eight hundredths.

I am the more particular in stating these measurements, from high authority, because a general belief prevails, I think, that the Mississippi is much broader. It may be mentioned, that this river is fully as wide—I should say rather wider—abreast of New Orleans, than it is any where else from its mouth to the confluence of the Missouri—a distance of more than twelve hundred miles. During the whole of that extent, it preserves the most wonderful uniformity in width—very seldom, indeed, varying more than a hundred yards or so, over or under four-tenths of a mile. Mr Darby,

in his very interesting description of Louisiana, at page 125, says, "From careful triangular measurements of the Mississippi, made at Natchez—at the efflux of the Atchafalaya—the efflux of the Plaquemine—near the efflux of the Lafourche—at New Orleans—Fort St Philips—and at the Balize, the medial width was found to be short of 880 yards, or half-a-mile. Eight hundred yards," he adds, "may be safely assumed as the width of the cubic column of water contained between the banks of the Mississippi."*

It is the depth which gives this mighty stream its sublimity. At New Orleans, the greatest depth observable at high water is 168 feet, but this is only at one place. At other parts it varies very much according to the deposits, and at some places is not 50 feet in depth. At Natchez, nearly 300 miles above New Orleans, when the water is at the lowest, I understand, it is not less than 70 feet deep; and during that season, the navigation of the river is exceedingly embarrassed by shoals, or bars, as they are called, which extend to a great distance off the points. Mr Darby, at page 135, gives the details of some measurements of the depth of the Mississippi, a little below the efflux of the river Lafourche, which I think is about fifty or sixty

* A Geographical Description of Louisiana. By William Darby. Philadelphia, 1816.

miles above New Orleans. He makes the depth there one hundred and thirty feet.

By some very curious experiments and ingenious reasonings, Mr Darby shows, at page 126 of his work, that the whole body of the Mississippi does not flow along at a greater rate than one mile an hour. The erroneous ideas which prevail upon this subject, have been caused by attending too much to the rapidity of the middle current, and not considering sufficiently the friction of the banks,—the effect of counter currents,—and the interruption caused by the islands.

On Sunday morning early, on the 20th of April, I visited the markets of New Orleans, always an interesting point in every new place. On entering the crowd, my ears were struck with a curious mixture of languages: the fishermen were talking Spanish; while amongst the rest of the crowd there was a pretty equal distribution of French and English. Under one long arched building, surrounded by pillars, the meat was exposed to sale, and under another the vegetables. On the river, abreast of these markets, which were built at the bottom of the slope of the Levée, were ranged numberless boats, that had arrived during the night from various plantations, both above and below the city. The sun was shining full into the colonnade, through the masts of the shipping, and

as I stood on the raised platform of the market, I could just see the Mississippi at intervals over the top of the bank, glittering under the branches of a row of the Pride-of-India tree, round the roots of which were piled large heaps of coal, floated down in arks or flat-boats all the way from Pittsburg, in the State of Pennsylvania, a couple of thousand miles off. At another place lay a number of flag-stones for the foot pavements, brought across the seas from Liverpool. These were again intermixed, without apparent order, with bales of cotton, hogs-heads of tobacco and sugar, from the countries round about; besides various groups of boxes and packages of goods, as far as the eye could reach in both directions along the crown of the Levée. I could not tell whence the half of these things had come, nor whither they were going, but the whole had an air of great commercial bustle. A dense grove of masts formed the background, from which the flags of all nations drooped listlessly in the calm. The sails of most of the vessels in the har-bour were let fall to dry,—a pretty sight at any time—while the rigging, still sparkling with dew, bore testimony to the clearness and coolness of the preceding night.

In the vegetable market I saw cabbages, peas, beet-roots, artichokes, French beans, radishes, and a great variety of spotted seeds, and caravansas;

—potatoes both of the sweet and Irish kind;—tomatoes, rice, Indian corn, ginger, blackberries, roses and violets, oranges, bananas, apples;—fowls tied in threes by the leg, quails, gingerbread, beer in bottles, and salt fish. So say my notes, which I copy in preference to writing the teasing words, &c. &c. &c., which either mean something or nothing. If nothing, they are better out; if something, that ought to be expressed.

Close to every second or third pillar sat one or more black women, chattering in French, selling coffee and chocolate. Besides these good things, they distributed smoking dishes of rice, white as snow, which I observed the country people eating with great relish, along with a very nice mess of stuff, which I took to be curry, and envied them accordingly. But I found it was called gumbo, a sort of gelatinous vegetable soup, of which, under other instruction, I learnt afterwards to understand the value.

Both oranges and pomegranates ripen at New Orleans, but the orange-trees, at the time of our visit, were only beginning to recover from the effects of a severe frost in 1823, which had killed nearly the whole of them. This shows the uncertainty of the American seasons, which, in every part of the Union, are perhaps not less changeable than in Europe. The magnolia-tree was in

full blossom at New Orleans, and a most magnificent sight it was. The flowers were, I think, twice as large as my hand; and though it flourishes in other parts of the United States besides Louisiana, its flowers had not come forward at any place we visited before New Orleans.

CHAPTER X.

At sunset, on the 23d of April, 1828, we embarked in the Hercules, a high-pressure steam tow-boat, and proceeded down the Mississippi on a most interesting expedition to the Balize, the principal station of the pilots at the mouth of the river. On the one side of the steam-boat was lashed a large Hamburgh ship, and on the other an American brig bound to the Havannah, chartered to carry a party of unfortunate Spaniards, who, having been forcibly expelled from Mexico a few weeks before, were now adrift on the wide world. A Spaniard is never querulous in his sorrow. He knows his own dignity better than to ask the stray sympathy of the passing world, and whatever fortune betide, always looks his true character. Accordingly, these poor people, though suddenly reduced from affluence to absolute poverty, were nevertheless cheerful; and though some of them, in the absence of their capotes, were fain to wrap themselves in a

blanket, still even this was flung over their shoulders with an air of habitual gracefulness and dignity.

One figure in particular engaged my attention. It was that of a tall bareheaded man, with a high Roman nose, skin as dark as mahogany, and hair black as jet, though his age could not have been much under sixty. He was enveloped in a long cloak, striped blue and white, which, if thrown on any other person, would have looked shabby and vulgar, but over him it hung in folds, reaching to the deck, as if an ancient sculptor had adjusted the drapery for his model. He sat apart from the rest of his company, on the rough-tree or gangway railing, with his hands clasped over his knees, and his eyes fixed stedfastly on the west. This direction of his looks was accidental, of course; but I could not help indulging my imagination, by conjecturing that his thoughts were with his heart, and that was far away—in the forbidden quarter where at last the sun of Spanish success and glory has gone down in blood and tears, just as it rose, at their bidding, upon the Caribs and the Incas of those regions, three centuries ago!

I had that day been reading Washington Irving's spirited life of Columbus, and this magnificent old Spaniard seated on the ship's side, ap-

peared to me not a bad personification of the spirit of that great voyager, who, as he had been the first European to tread the shores of the New World, was now the last to quit it.

The night closed in upon us before we had gone many leagues down the stream; but there was light enough from the moon to discover that we were navigating a river of great magnitude. The width, as I have before mentioned, was nowhere more than half a mile; but every thing we saw gave indications of depth and uniformity. On looking over the banks, as we whirled round the bends or loops in the river, we could distinguish endless flat lands, some covered with houses and tilled fields, cowering as it were behind the Levées, and some again sleeping under forests, which as yet no hand of man had touched; while others were bristled thickly over with rank, useless reeds.

There are four principal outlets, or Passes, as they are called, to the Mississippi, at the end of the long, straggling sort of tongue-shaped promontory, into which the new land forms itself at that place. It would be a better simile to compare this part of the Delta to an arm, of which the hand at the end, with the fingers opened as widely as possible, might represent the different outlets. These are called the South-west, the South, the South-east Passes, and the most eastern of all is called in the books

the "Passe à l'outre." At the point where each of these mouths joins the sea, there is, of course, a bar, or shallow bank, running across, and liable to constant fluctuations in soundings and in situation, to the torment of the pilots, whose best friends, however, they certainly are. At present, the South-west Pass is the favourite, from being the deepest. It generally carries fifteen feet water over it; but, as there was a considerable swell rolling in from the Gulf of Mexico on the morning of our visit, the Hamburgh ship, which was tucked under one of our wings, took the ground for an instant, and snapped the hawsers by which she was lashed, like so many pieces of packthread.

When we had got fairly out into salt water, we cast off our load, and having returned as far as the point where the Passes meet and form one stream, we turned round and went down the South-east Pass to the dreary abode of the Pilots, called the Balize—from the Spanish word Valiza, a beacon. The V in Spanish words, it may be remarked, is often, though improperly, confounded in pronunciation with B. From this wretched place—planted in the midst of a boundless swamp or morass—no firm land is in sight, or is within fifty or sixty miles of it. There are about twenty buildings in all, six of which are dwelling-houses. The intercourse between them is carried on exclusively along paths

made of planks and trunks of trees laid over the slime and water. It is impossible, indeed, to walk ten yards in any direction, without sinking up to the neck in a mud-hole or a quicksand; so that, for all the usual purposes of locomotion, the inhabitants might just as well be at sea.

In the middle of this half-drowned village, there stands a rickety sort of look-out house, to the top of which we managed to climb with some difficulty. The extensive field of view which this commanded was flat and dreary, beyond any imagination to conceive; but still it was not without variety and interest. We could discover several of the passes, and great numbers of Bayous or natural canals, creeping amongst the marshes slowly to the sea, which occupied about one-third of the whole horizon in the south. On the east and west, the marshes extended as far as the eye could reach, bristling with roots, trunks, and branches of trees.

The bars, which stretch across the north of the river, are formed of the mud brought down at all times, but more particularly in the wet season. Similar deposits are taking place on every hand, so that the bottom is gradually raised to the surface of the water, and when the river is low, I am told, immense tracts are laid bare. In the spring, or rather winter, when the freshes or floods come down, they bring along with them millions of trunks of

trees, technically called logs. One of the pilots at the Balize—who, by the way, had been a main-topman in the Lyra, under my command, ten years before, in the China Seas—told me, that in February, and in the beginning of March, the quantity of these logs was so great, that not only the river itself, but the sea for several miles off, was so completely coated over with them, that it required some skill to get through. I could perfectly well believe this, for the whole ground—if the loose muddy soil could be so called—appeared to be formed of layers of these logs—matted together into a network, or rather a gigantic raft of rough timbers—many yards, and perhaps fathoms in depth, over hundreds of square leagues. May not this stratum of vegetable matter, which, there is every reason to suppose, stretches over the whole Delta at the level of the sea, become in some future geological revolution of the world, a great coal bed? These enormous rafts of timber which settle on the mud as the waters subside, are cemented together by fresh deposits. In a short time a rank sort of cane or reed springs up, which helps to keep them together. This is called a cane brake—a wild, hopeless-looking, impassable sort of marsh. These reeds, by retarding the flow of the river, collect the mud of the next season, and by the process of their own decay, lend their share to form the alluvial soil of the

Delta. Fresh logs, and fresh mud, and new crops of cane, go on forming for a certain course of years —I don't know how many. At length a stunted, poor kind of shrub takes root and grows up in these slushy territories—the empire of the alligators, who delight to flounder about in the creeks or bayous which cut across the Delta in every direction.

When these trees grow up, they collect more soil about them, and land somewhat firmer is concocted, as we advance to the region of swamps from that of marshes. The intruder, man, now begins his operations by banking out the stream, and taking the further management of the soil into his own hands. The fertility of such spots, I understand, exceeds that of any other part of the world. Of course, all the sea-shores or skirts of the Delta of the Mississippi, and I suppose of every other similar river, are uninhabited—and must continue for a long time in the state of useless marshes till fresh deposits raise the level a few feet more. The lowest sugar plantation on the Mississippi, that I saw, was forty miles below New Orleans, or about sixty miles from the sea. And I should imagine, that a belt of uninhabitable marsh from fifty to one hundred miles in width, fringes the edge of the whole of that part of the coast.

It forms a curious speculation, I think, to en-

quire how far the system of making Levées or embankments on the sides of the Mississippi, may have the effect of modifying the form of the Delta. Certainly, when we look at the map, there does appear something singular in the shape of the snout or funnel, by which the main body of that stupendous stream is sent to the ocean.

I had many opportunities of seeing how nature carried on her operations when left alone, and also how these were modified by the industry of man, who is gradually gaining, as he supposes, the complete mastery. The way in which the river proceeds to work is this.—The country being very nearly level, and the surface every where formed of the finest and almost impalpable materials, the river easily cuts its way through in any direction; and consequently we find in all such places, that the streams, instead of observing a straight course, wind about, and form themselves into knots, bends, loops, festoons, and a hundred fantastic shapes. Sometimes a bend will occur, as I often saw on the Mississippi and Alabama, where the neck of land was not a quarter of a mile across, though it cost us several miles—in one instance five leagues of voyage—to go round. In the ordinary course of things, there take place a series of scoopings in the concave parts of these bends, where the stream moves fastest, and a correspondent series

of deposits on the convex sides, where it moves slowest. Under the points, as they are called, or round the corners, there is frequently a sort of eddy—or, if not an eddy, a stagnation—or, at all events, a diminution of velocity in the stream. Whenever this occurs, there must necessarily be a deposit of mud, and for the opposite reason, there must be a removal of soil from the other side, where the speed of the current is greatest. If a town were to be built at what is called the bottom or concave part of one of these bends, or at any place where the river did not naturally form deposits, the chances are, that in the course of time, the said town would be plumped into the stream. The city of New Orleans, accordingly, is judiciously placed under a point, where, instead of its foundation being scooped out, there has actually been a considerable addition made to the land abreast of the upper part of the city—to the great gain of the lawyers, and to the great loss of the litigating parties, who have been squabbling for some years past, respecting the right of property in this new soil.

I may mention here an instance of the danger of tampering too much with such a prodigious monster as the Mississippi. One of the parties in the above dispute, who, it seems, after years of litigation, had established his right to all the land

formed, or which might be formed, in front of his property, conceived the idea of accelerating the process. He got hold of some ten or a dozen of the great flat boats called arks, which I have already described, and sunk them one by one in a line, at some little distance from the Levée, just where this new land, or batture, as it is called, was in the leisurely process of formation. This impediment to the course of the stream aided the deposits, and the land continued to rise with much greater rapidity than formerly. Our friend's fancy now revelled in the thoughts of the grand warehouses and wharfs he was to build, and chuckled finely over all his slow-going neighbours, till one night, souse went his whole apparatus, carrying out of sight with it, in a couple of seconds, for ever and ever, not only all the extra land he had formed, but dragging with it a great part of the deposit collected antecedent to this daring project of interfering with the Mississippi.

Even the system of making Levées, or embankments, is liable, in some degree, to the same chances; as I shall endeavour to explain. In ordinary times, the river goes on depositing mud at one place, and scooping away the soil at another, which operation, it will be observed, is the source of those immense rafts of floating logs I spoke of some time ago; for, when the banks are undermined, hun-

dreds of acres of trees are projected into the stream. As long as the river does not reach the level of the country through which it is flowing, all goes on regularly within its own channel; but during the freshes, when the water rises to the very brim, one of two things must happen, and generally both—it must either flow over, along the whole bank, or it must cut its way through at those places most suitable for itself, and form new and wider channels, to afford itself relief from the superabundance of water.

At those parts of the Mississippi where the artificial embankments called Levées have been formed, only one of these things can happen, because they are made of a sufficient elevation to stand at all times above the highest level of the river. Where Levées have not yet been made, the water of course flows over the bank every year, and inundates the whole of the adjacent country. On going up the Mississippi, we passed several hundreds of miles where the river was gushing in this manner over the right or western bank, to the depth, I should think, of half a foot, and at some places twice as much—a magnificent waste-weir indeed!

The effect of such overflowings is most interesting in a geological point of view. The larger materials, that is to say, the coarser grains of the mud—for there is hardly any thing like sand—are

first deposited; then the less coarse, and so on. In proportion as the velocity of this surplus water is diminished, by finding room to spread itself to the right and left, so will the materials which it carries along become finer, and in smaller quantity. Thus, a sort of natural embankment, or glacis, with a very gentle slope, is always, I believe, found to extend from the edge of such rivers, towards the swampy country on either hand. According to Mr Dunbar, a writer in the Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, Vol. VI., "the declivity of these embankments is six or eight inches in a hundred feet, for several hundred yards, after which the slope becomes imperceptible, till it is gradually lost in swamps, marshes, and lakes, which finally communicate with the sea." Each successive fresh that comes down, augments this bank a little, till a very perceptible rise is formed. While this is going on above the average surface of the country, there is, in many places, a gradual rise in the bed of the stream by the deposition of the heavier materials, the effect of which is to elevate the whole body of the river. It appears, indeed, that the Mississippi actually winds along the summit of a ridge.*

In those districts where no Levées have yet been

* See Darby's Louisiana, pages 56, and 130.

constructed, these natural banks never rise very high; for the proper adjustment of levels is effected by the river bursting through and cutting for itself another channel, along which its waste waters flow more easily. We saw numberless instances of this change in the course of the stream. At some turns of the river these deviations were partial, acting as mere outlets for the extra water during the season of the high freshes; at others, the former bed of the river was quite deserted, and the whole body of the stream found its way by a new course. In many instances I observed narrow isthmuses, the gorges of huge bends or loops several miles in length, which had been cut across, so that the river, instead of going all the way round, made nearly a straight course, while its ancient winding route was fast growing up with willow and cotton-wood trees. At all such turns, where the stream cuts fresh channels for itself in this way, the same series of operations goes on as before described;—the banks overflow, deposits take place, and sloping Levées are formed. In process of time, the beds of these new rivers rise as that of their parent had done before them, after which, in due season, they break loose, cut openings in their banks, and send off fresh streams to run the same round. In this way the whole Delta of the Mississippi is matted over with a web of rivers and bayous,

along all the banks of which are found these gentle slopes I spoke of, which, as the country becomes settled, are gradually crowned by an artificial Levée, and the adjacent country, protected from the annual inundations, yields crops of incredible richness.

Sometimes, however, even there, the river gains the ascendency, and forces its way through the Levée by rents, or fissures, called crevasses. When these openings reach a certain magnitude, it is quite impossible to stop them, and they must be allowed to run on till the river subsides. On the first symptom of a crevasse, however, all the world turns out, and the utmost exertions are brought to bear on the mischief. A few years ago, owing to a crevasse having broken through the Levée, just above New Orleans, the greater part of the city was laid under water to the depth of several feet, for some months.

These crevasses cut their way through the banks with so much ease, and from such small beginnings, that hardly any degree of vigilance affords perfect security. Water rats infest these banks, and it is said, that many crevasses have been caused by their holes. For the soil is so loose and easily carried away by the water, that if a pipe or hole is once bored through by these animals, so that the water fairly gets vent, even in a driblet, it is impossible to say of what magnitude the opening may become before morning.

CHAPTER XV.

On the 25th of April, 1828, at six o'clock in the evening, we embarked on board the Philadelphia, one of the largest class of steam-boats on the river, and started three hours afterwards on our voyage up the grand Mississippi.

As the steam-boats on this river, and indeed all over America, burn nothing but wood, and as their engines are mostly high pressure, the consumption of this bulky description of fuel is so considerable, that they are obliged to call at least twice a-day at the wooding stations on the banks of the stream. The Philadelphia used about one cord of wood an hour, or 128 cubic feet. A cord consists of a pile eight feet long by four high, and four in thickness, each billet being four feet in length. Sometimes, when we were pushing hard, we burnt 30 cords in a day. Each cord cost from $2\frac{1}{2}$ to 3 dollars, or from 11 to 12 shillings;

but the price varied at different stations—decreasing as we went up.

When the supply on board began to run short, the pilot cast his eye round, and upon the first convenient opportunity, he steered the boat for one of the numerous piles of firewood which occurred at every league or two during the greater part of the way. When the river is brim full, or more than full, that is to say, running over, there was nothing left for it but to place the boat alongside of the trees, make a hawser fast to one of them, and stop the engine. As soon as this was done, two or three broad, strong planks were thrust over the vessel's side, to form a gangway to the shore, along which the crew and the deck passengers carried the wood on their shoulders.

I have already mentioned that the backwoodsmen, who drop down to New Orleans in the great flats, or arks, loaded with the produce of the interior, always return as deck passengers in the steam-boats; that is to say, they inhabit the upper deck of the boat, and pay a less sum of money than the ladies and gentlemen in the gay saloons below stairs. The full price of a passage for a deck passenger from New Orleans to Louisville, a distance of 1430 miles, was generally 10 dollars at the time of my visit, that is, two guineas. But if they were willing to assist in carry-

ing wood, two dollars were struck off, and they got home for only L.1, 14s. 6d., which was cheap enough in all conscience, even though they had to find their own provisions.

It was always a lively, bustling scene at these wooding stations; for the grand object being expedition, the Captain stood urging his crew and the passengers to hurry on board as fast as they could with their loads. Few of these stops were longer than a quarter of an hour, but as they were the only opportunities I had during the whole voyage for making any use of the Camera Lucida, I was obliged to bestir myself to profit by them at all. I had the instrument and the sketch-book both securely fixed to a little drawing table all ready to work with, so that the instant the boat's bow touched the shore, I leaped out with this apparatus in one hand, and a camp-stool in the other; and never returned on board till, the wooding operations being finished, the captain was ringing the bell, roaring to his sailors to bear a hand, and growling at the fine arts.

On the 26th of April, at the distance of fifty or sixty miles above New Orleans, we had the satisfaction of seeing one of those formidable breaches in the Levée, called crevasses, which I have already spoken of. The river was tumbling through the opening with a head or fall of four

or five feet, in a tumultuous manner, resembling one of the St Lawrence rapids. This boiling, or rather surf-like appearance—for it rose and fell in snow-white ridges or short waves—did not spread itself far to the right or left, which at first surprised me, but gushed nearly at right angles to the parent river straight forward, across the cultivated fields, into the forest growing in the boundless morass lying beyond the cleared strip of land. There was something peculiarly striking in this casual stream—a mere drop from the great Mississippi—which in many other countries might well have claimed the name of a river, leaping, and writhing, and foaming along, with a sound exactly like that of breakers on a reef, through the middle of a village, amongst trees, over the tops of sugar plantations, and at last losing itself in a great cypress swamp.

The Levée or embankment was completely carried away at this place for a distance of a hundred or perhaps a hundred and fifty yards. I could not help being surprised, indeed, that any portion of these frail barriers ever stood at all, for they seemed generally not more than two or three feet wide at top, and ten or twelve at the base; and altogether so slender in appearance, that I expected every minute to see fresh crevasses formed. During the greater part of that day, the surface of

the water along which we were moving, could not be less than six or eight feet above the level of the ground on both sides. The district of country which lies adjacent to the Mississippi, in the lower parts of Louisiana, is every where thickly peopled by sugar planters, whose showy houses, gay piazzas, trig gardens, and numerous slave-villages, all clean and neat, gave an exceedingly thriving air to the river scenery.

In the course of the second morning, we called at a wooding station at a part of the river where, as there had as yet been no Levées made, a little village was completely swamped. It consisted of four houses, about a hundred yards apart, behind which, as far as the eye could penetrate into the forest, no land was to be seen. About an acre of timber had been cut down to make firewood for the steam-boats, and on the cleared space these little bits of rude huts had been perched on the top of piles, so that the flood just reached them. All their communication was by canoes; but how they get on when the waters subside, and leave a stratum of six or eight inches of mud, guarded by forty thousand millions of mosquitoes, I do not know.

In the course of the 27th and 28th of April, we made good about 140 miles, at every part of which the Mississippi was overflowing its western or right bank in a continued stream, from six inches to a

foot in depth. Sometimes we passed along distances of twenty or thirty miles without seeing a single habitation. An artist, in search of hints for a painting of the Deluge, would have found them in abundance, especially at these wooding stations.

There was something finely contrasted with all this wretchedness in the magnificent foliage, and enormous stems of the trees in the forests bordering the Mississippi, most of which were embellished with a profusion of loose, dangling festoons of a large creeper as thick as my arm,—sweeping from the branches, and tying the different groups together, in a manner which often reminded me of the great Teak-wood forests in the Ghauts, or high ridges which overhang the coast of Malabar. Between the Tropics, the profuse luxuriance of the vegetation seems natural and easy—the habitual, characteristic, every-day dress of nature, with which all things besides are in harmonious keeping —but in a country such as Louisiana or Arkansaw, where the climate is variable, and the supply of heat and moisture, though superabundant when it comes, is very inconstant, there is generally an air of rankness about these swamp forests, which is not so agreeable as it is undoubtedly striking and curious.

On the 1st of May, we stopped for an hour to

clear out the boilers, which had got choked with mud from the dirty waters of the Mississippi. The place where we made fast was a wooding station, owned by what is called a Squatter, a person who, without any title to the land, or leave asked or granted, squats himself down, and declares himself the lord and master of the soil for the time being. There is nobody to question his right, and, indeed, according to all accounts, it might not be altogether a safe topic of conversation to introduce. These hardy fellows are sometimes called the pioneers of the wilderness—and justly so called—for they go a-head of the more orderly and civilized population, and clear away the grounds in the line of march. They are said, but I do not know with what truth, to have no great affection for the niceties of the law; and when the tide of population creeps up to them, they seize their axes and retreat beyond the reach of those odious regulators of other people's affairs—judges and juries.

In such a wild part of the country as we called at on the 1st of May, where as yet there had been no regular survey of the land, of course these squatters are just as free to perch on the banks of the river, as the buzzards or vultures are to take possession of the cotton-wood trees growing above them. But even in the States lying to the eastward

of the Mississippi, they are often to be found. We encountered many of them also in Georgia, where their nick-name is Crackers—but they are merely honest Squatters—free-and-easy settlers, who are their own law-makers and law-breakers, as the case may be. As these people, after all, do great good to the countries in which they settle, their operations are not discouraged. In process of time, many of them become useful citizens of thickly peopled territories, of which but a few years before they were the only inhabitants; while the idlers and rovers proceed to the westward.

It is the fashion to speak slightly of these Pioneers, Squatters, Crackers, or by whatever name it is right to call them, but I must own that I was well satisfied with almost every one of them whom I encountered. In general, I thought they had less of that frigid, uninviting formality, which characterises the Americans further to the eastward. They were somewhat gruff, indeed, at times; but they seemed to trust themselves and us with more readiness, and sometimes understood a joke, which I hardly ever saw exemplified on this side of the Mississippi.

One of these Lords of the woods, seeing me at work with the Camera, came splashing through the mud to the spot where I was sitting, and begged me, when I had done, to walk to his house—

or rather to take a paddle with him in his canoe, hollowed out, as he told me, by his own hands, from the trunk of a cypress. I went along with him, of course, and found his wife seated in a very nice, clean, roomy cottage, made of logs, with a large fire-place lined with mud on one side,—the whole white-washed and very neat. The beds were enclosed in mosquitoe curtains, and an air of comfort pervaded the whole establishment, which I had not expected from what I had heard of the habits of these people. The aspect of the surrounding deluged country also had led me to anticipate a very different style within doors. The Squatter was really quite active in his hospitality—ran for a chair—lamented that he had nothing to give me, as all his stock, except one cow, had been drowned by the great fresh. I begged to have a little milk, if possible, for my child, and he gave me all he had in a moment.

I asked him what kind of communication he kept up with the rest of the world. "Oh!" said he, "I get the newspapers from the steam-boats every day if I want them, both from above and from below—from New Orleans, or from Louisville in Kentucky."

"Well, but what do you do for clothes—for all sorts of goods—how do you supply yourself?"

"Quite easily," cried he; "come here and I will show you."

As he said this, he pointed to a flat boat or ark, which had just made fast her cable to the stump of a tree, and was swinging round with the stream, abreast of my new acquaintance, the Squatter's door.

What should this be, but a floating shop or store, containing all sorts of things—in token of which, as he said, there was hoisted at the mast-head a yard of printed cotton. In this way it appears, the owner of the ark goes shopping along, calling at every wooding station, or village, or town, on his way to New Orleans, from Pittsburg on the Ohio, a distance of two thousand miles. At the end of the voyage he sells his shop for fire-wood —purchases what he wants at New Orleans—puts himself on the top of a steam-boat, and in a fortnight is home again to build a fresh shop, and start once more either in this or in some new speculation.

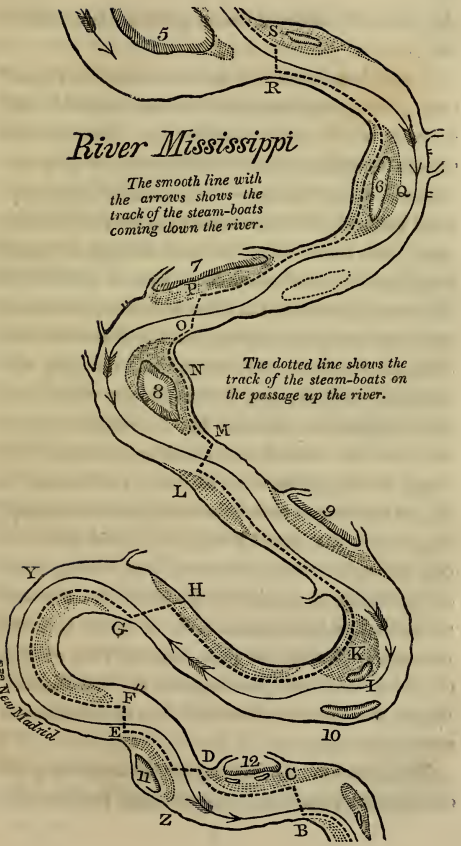
The navigation of the Mississippi by steam has considerable interest for professional men, and by means of an illustrative ground plan, may, I think, be made intelligible to others.

In coming down the river there is little or no trouble, as far as I could learn. The boat is kept in the centre of the stream as nearly as possible,

by which the shoals or bars are best avoided, and the greatest advantages taken of the current. On the annexed plan, which represents the Mississippi at the distance of about a thousand miles from the sea, the unbroken line, with occasional arrows marked along it, denotes the track of the steam-boats on the downward voyage. The passage upwards requires a higher degree of skill and much more vigilance, as well as an intimate acquaintance with every part of the river.

Let it be supposed that the boat has reached the point marked B on the plan, which is near the termination of the bight or bend Z B, where the current of the river runs swiftest. The object, it will easily be understood, is always to get into a part of the stream running at the slowest rate. This is accomplished by cutting across to C. The dotted line shows the course actually followed by our boat, the Philadelphia, of 325 tons, which drew seven feet water.

In order to make good the passage directly over from B to C, it was necessary to steer considerably higher, to counteract the downward effect of the stream. Generally speaking, I observed that the pilots kept the boat's head at about an angle of 45 degrees with the course of the river. This course never carried them exactly over, but made the track incline a little upwards, in consequence of the velo-


River Mississippi
The smooth line with the arrows shows the track of the steam-boats coming down the river.
The dotted line shows the track of the steam-boats on the passage up the river.
5
S
R
6
Q
7
P
O
8
N
M
L
9
Y
H
G
K
I
F
E
New Madrid
10
D
12
C
11
Z
B

city of the steam-boat being greater than that of the river.

It will be observed, that from the point D, and even past C, there lies a shoal or bar, caused by the deposits which occur wherever the velocity of the stream is reduced. Now, the object of our pilot was to coast along the edge of this shoal, in order to avail himself of the diminished rapidity of the current; but in so doing he was obliged to avoid hugging the shoal too close, lest he should get the vessel aground. On these occasions, therefore, the lead was kept going, and I observed, that although we drew only seven feet, the pilot was extremely shy of going into shallower water than three fathoms or 18 feet; but he seldom kept so far from the edge of the shoal as to deepen the water to four fathoms or 24 feet. On coming to D, the boat began to feel the strong current sweeping round the bend F D. To avoid this, we cut across the river once more, and having crept along as close as possible to the shoal till we reached E, dashed back again to F, in order to avoid the rapid water in the great bend E Y H, abreast of which stood the poor remains of New Madrid, which was almost destroyed by an earthquake some years ago.

The pilot now felt his way by the lead along the skirts of the shoal G F, lying under the point G. On

reaching G, he made across again to H, not only to avoid the swift current meeting the boat in the bend between G and the little island No. 10, but to avail himself of the slack water under the point K.

It will be observed that we passed between the island marked I and the main shore. But this can only be done when the river is full; at other seasons the space K being dry, the boats must pass round the island. In like manner we had water enough to justify our going on the inner side of the island, No. 8, instead of making a great round outside. It will be understood that a different course must be followed at almost every different stage of the rise and fall of the river, as the shoals vary in their depth as the water subsides.

Some years ago, when the Mississippi was regularly surveyed, all its islands were numbered, from the confluence of the Missouri to the sea; but every season makes such revolutions, not only in the number, but in the magnitude and situation, of these islands, that this enumeration is now almost obsolete. Sometimes large islands are entirely melted away—at other places, as will be seen on the plan at 7, 9, and 12, they have attached themselves to the main shore; or, which is the more correct statement, the interval has been filled up by myriads of logs, cemented together by mud and

rubbish. On the other hand, the river is perpetually insinuating itself into the soft alluvial shore, and slicing off portions of land from the points, which thenceforward become islands. The original numbers given to the islands, however, are judiciously retained as distinguishing names, whether the series be preserved or not, and new appellations given to those which start up.

Occasionally the current undermines the bank, and plunges thousands of trees at one dash right into the bed of the river. The greater number of these trees are swept down to the sea, many are stopped in their progress by the islands standing in the way, while some float into the shallow water between these islands and the main, where they grow into rafts, often several miles in length, and form, along with the mud deposited by the river, the substratum of future land.

It would be well if all these trees were disposed of in the way alluded to; but, unfortunately for the navigation of the Mississippi, some of the largest, after being cast down from the position in which they grew, get their roots entangled with the bottom of the river, where they remain anchored, as it were, in the mud. The force of the current naturally gives their tops a tendency downwards, and by its flowing past, soon strips them of their leaves and branches. These fixtures, called

snags or planters, are extremely dangerous to the steam-vessels proceeding up the stream, for they lie like a lance in rest, concealed beneath the water, with their sharp ends pointed directly against the bows of vessels coming up.

For the most part, these formidable snags remain so still, that they can be detected only by a slight ripple above them, not perceptible to inexperienced eyes. Sometimes, however, they vibrate up and down, alternately showing their heads above the surface, and bathing them beneath it, which peculiar motion has given them the name of sawyers. If a boat going up happens to have reached a spot where a sawyer is rising, she stands a good chance of being pierced through and through about the middle; but if she be coming down the river, she generally slides over these snags and sawyers without much danger, as their heads are always held down the stream. Besides which, on the voyage towards the sea, as the boat keeps nearly in the middle of the river to be in the strongest current, she is less apt to fall in with the interruptions, which belong chiefly to the sides of the river.

So imminent is the danger caused by these obstructions, that almost all the boats on the Mississippi are now fitted with what is called a snag-chamber; a singular device, and so highly charac-

teristic of this peculiar navigation, that I think it worth describing.

At the distance of twelve or fourteen feet from the stem of the vessel, a strong bulkhead is carried across the hold from side to side, as high as the deck, and reaching to the kelson. This partition, which is formed of stout planks, is caulked, and made so effectually water-tight, that the foremost end of the vessel is cut off as entirely from the rest of the hold, as if it belonged to another boat. If the steam-vessel happen to run against a snag, and that a hole is made in her bow, under the surface, this chamber merely fills with water; for the communication being cut off from the rest of the vessel, no further mischief need ensue. Whereas, in boats which have no snag-chamber, such an accident would probably send the vessel to the bottom, if the pilot were not expeditious in steering for the bank, and lashing her to a tree.

In describing the mode in which we proceeded up the river, the pilot, it will be recollected, endeavoured as much as possible to keep the vessel in that part of the stream where the water was moving slowest. In order to accomplish this, however, he was obliged every now and then to strike across from bank to bank, and on these occasions a curious, and to me unexpected, set of circumstances took place.

Let it be supposed that the steam-vessel is coasting along the edge of a shoal lying under a point, and that her rate of moving through the water, by the impulse of the paddles, is ten miles an hour, while the current of the river at that place is running against her at the rate of two miles; it is evident she will go 'over the ground,' as it is called, or will actually move past the trees, at the rate of eight miles an hour. On reaching the pitch of the point, or the place from which it becomes necessary to cross the river, the helm is put gently to one side, the effect of which is to make the steam-vessel glide out of the slow-moving water, which is going at the rate of two miles, into a part of the river where it is running against her at the rate of five miles an hour. This five-mile current, opposed to a vessel which is going at the rate of ten, would of course soon reduce her actual progress to five miles an hour; but as the enormous momentum of a vessel of several hundred tons cannot all at once be checked, she dashes forward, with the previously acquired velocity of eight miles an hour 'over the ground,' full into a current running in the opposite direction at the rate of five. The water, accordingly, for a minute or two, or as long as she retains the velocity impressed upon her, actually passes by her, or, which is the same thing, she passes through it, at the rate of thirteen miles an

hour. The power of the steam-engine being a constant quantity, it continues to act upon the paddle-wheels as before; but, as I have said, the water gives way much more quickly, and this puts the engine into violent motion, causing a tremor from stem to stern of the vessel, of the most alarming nature to inexperienced persons, while the whole boat appears, for the time, absolutely bewitched, tossing the water over her bows in the most singular style.

It will easily be understood how an opposite set of effects must be produced on the vessel reaching the other side of the river. In her transit across the stream, she falls gradually under the counteracting influence of the swifter current, so that, by the time she has nearly reached the shore, her actual velocity 'over the ground' has been reduced to five miles an hour, the difference between her own rate of going, which is ten, and that of the current against her, which is five. On entering the slow-moving thread of water lying along the edge of the shoal, where it is running at the rate of only two miles an hour, she glides along as smoothly as if she were sailing in oil.

There is another circumstance which may be thought interesting connected with the steam navigation of the Mississippi—I mean the relative speed of the upward and the downward voyages.

The faster the steam-boat can be propelled through the water by the action of the paddles, the smaller will be the difference between the times required to perform the two voyages. To some persons this will appear obvious upon the mere face of the statement; but, as it cost me some little time to satisfy myself respecting it, I shall endeavour to make it plain to others by two examples.

If the river be running at the rate of 4 miles an hour, and a boat wishing to go up have only sufficient power to force her along at the rate of 4 miles, it is clear she would never get along at all. But if we suppose her engine powerful enough to impel her through the water at the rate of 8 miles, she will then go over the ground, or make good 4 miles an hour; in other words, it will cost her 25 hours to ascend 100 miles of the Mississippi. On reaching that point, if we suppose her to turn about, and come back again, it is manifest she will now pass over the ground at the rate of 12 miles an hour—the 4 miles of current being added to the 8 of her own motion through the water. Thus she will come down in 8 hours and 20 minutes, the 100 miles which it took her 25 hours to go up—that is to say, the upward voyage will be three times as long as the downward one.

Let us now augment the power of her machinery, till she is made to go through the water at

the rate of 12 miles an hour, instead of 8. She will then, on ascending the river, go over the ground at the rate of 8 miles, 4 being deducted for the contrary current. The 100 miles will now cost her only 12 hours and a half to go up. On turning back again to come down, she will pass over the ground, or make good 16 miles an hour, instead of 12, the 4 miles of current being added to the 12 of her own motion, and will complete the downward voyage in 6 hours and a quarter. Thus the upward voyage will be only twice as long as that down the stream, instead of three times as long, which it was in the first case.

The passage from New Orleans to Louisville, in Kentucky, before the introduction of steam-boats, frequently occupied nine weary months of hard rowing and warping; whereas, it is now performed in little more than nine days, or in one-thirtieth of the time. It has been once accomplished, I was told, in eight days and two hours; which, considering that the distance is 1430 miles against the stream, is prodigious going. In the steam-boat Philadelphia, we took eleven days and three hours exactly, including all stops, which is about five miles and a half an hour, upon an average. The regular charge for a single cabin passenger, from New Orleans to Louisville, is 35 dollars; but, by an arrangement made with the captain, I got two

state-rooms adjoining the great cabin, for 125 dollars. This sum, which included all expenses for three grown-up persons and one child, may be stated at eight cents, or about fourpence per mile for the whole party, nearly 10 dollars a-day, which is equal to L.2, 2s. 6d. Each day's journey being generally 128 miles, the cost of our travelling on the Mississippi was about a penny and a farthing a-mile, for one person, including board and lodging. Our land journey through the States of Georgia and Alabama, cost us a little more than eleven times as much, or 91 cents a-mile for the whole party.

On the 4th of May, we came to the confluence of the Ohio with the Mississippi. The Ohio, though not quite clear, was much less muddy than the great stream into which it now merged; and owing to its being swollen considerably, it possessed momentum enough to drive the body of the Mississippi nearly over to the western shore. The difference of colour in the two streams was thus rendered very conspicuous. The earthy, yellowish-brown of the Mississippi, formed a distinct belt of water on the right bank of the united stream for a mile or two, while on the left there was a broad strip of dirty bottle-green from the Ohio.

The intrusion of the Ohio, according to the ac-

count of the pilots, sometimes 'dams up' the Mississippi, for a distance of 30 miles. This singular effect is produced only when the Ohio is at its height, and the Mississippi comparatively low, and then, I am assured, it literally causes an apparent stagnation of the waters of that mighty stream, for many leagues above the point of confluence. It is not to be supposed that the Mississippi is slow to return the compliment when its turn comes to be highest. On these occasions, the Ohio is 'dammed up' for a distance of seventy miles—a glorious battle between two River Gods!

The scenery on the Ohio, which we now entered, is beyond all comparison more beautiful than that of the Mississippi, which is generally low, marshy, or rather, to use the local expression, swampy, and very uninteresting; whereas the banks of the Ohio, which rise to the height of several hundred feet, are covered with splendid trees of great altitude and luxuriance of foliage. It was also quite reviving to see once more some patches of cultivation not liable to be flooded; and grassy knolls fenced off for cattle to graze in, without the necessity of perching the wretched animals on scaffolds, as we had seen in many places on the Mississippi. Here and there, even near the mouth of the Ohio, we came to villages resting on solid ground, and shortly afterwards to flourishing

towns, worthy of the sea-coast, though buried deep in the backwoods.

I am unwilling to let this opportunity pass of mentioning, for the information of nautical men, a very ingenious method, devised, as far as I know, by the steam-boat pilots on the Mississippi and Ohio, for getting their vessels off the bars and other shoals, when they happen to run aground —an accident of frequent occurrence when the water is low.

These boats are furnished with a long and stout spar, ready to launch over the bows upon these occasions. This they plant on the ground, nearly right a-head, with an inclination of about 45 degrees, so that the upper end of it may overhang considerably the forecastle of the vessel. A three-fold block is next lashed to the head of the spar, and another with four sheeves, to the bows of the boat. They then reeve a strong hawser through these blocks, and bring the fall to the capstan. By heaving on this purchase, a double object is served; the vessel is not only lifted up, but she is also shoved or boomed off. Seamen may ask, why the pilots do not rather lay out an anchor? To which I reply, as they replied to me, that, in the first place, the current is generally so strong, that it is very difficult to send a small boat into the middle of the stream; and, even were it otherwise, the holding

ground is so bad, that almost before the cable can be made to bear any strain, the anchor is sure to come home. Independently of which material considerations, it may be observed, that the method of booming off by means of a spar, need not occupy a tenth part of the time of laying out an anchor, while it may be carried to any extent by adding to the number and strength of the purchases, and the application of more spars.

When the ground on which the vessel has run is soft, it becomes necessary to nail a broad shoe to the heel of the spar, to prevent its sinking too far in the mud.

I cannot help thinking that the principle here described, might be introduced with advantage into ordinary navigation. Its simplicity is so obvious, that I can hardly conceive a case in which, if any of the common methods could be brought to bear, this plan might not be adopted, either alone, or in combination with others already in use. I see no reason, for instance, why a frigate might not launch her spare topmasts and topsail-yards over the bows, and rig up half a dozen purchases, in much less time than is usually taken to lay out a bower anchor; while the advantages might in some cases be much greater. I need not say how useful this plan might prove in cases where the boats have been stove, or the anchors lost. Many varieties in

the application of the principle will occur to officers of resource. There is no reason, for instance, why these booming off and elevating spars should not be placed amidships, or over the quarter, if the vessel were aground abaft.

Although the above description will be quite intelligible to nautical persons; a common-place illustration will render it equally so to every one. When a row boat happens to run upon a shoal, or is grounded on the beach, the bowman takes his boat-hook, and having planted it on the shore, puts his shoulder to it, and forces the boat back. If this force be not enough, the other men unship their oars, and, by resting them on the ground, soon move her into deep water. The above operation is exactly the same thing on a great scale.

CHAPTER XVI.

On the 7th of May, 1828, we reached Louisville, a large and handsome town in Kentucky, on the left bank of the Ohio, close to a spot where the navigation of that river is interrupted by a series of Falls, or Rapids. In order to remedy the inconvenience caused by this stoppage, when the river is low, the spirited citizens of Louisville, and other places interested in the prosperity of that part of the country, have cut a canal round the Falls; and I cannot say that, for its extent, I have ever seen a more magnificent work, or one which holds out a better promise of advantage to all the parties concerned. I am the more anxious to make this statement, because I conceive the canal at Louisville a striking exception to the numberless wild projects with which the United States are inundated at this moment, not one in ten of which, it is much to be feared, will ever turn to any account.

It was an unspeakable relief to us to get out of our steam-boat, for, comfortable though she was, as steam-boats go, still eleven successive days, and eleven weary nights, of constant paddling, was enough to tire out the patience even of more veteran travellers. The contrast was not a little heightened by our finding excellent accommodations at a hotel in Louisville, the best ordered, upon the whole, which we met with in America, though the attendants were all slaves.

Nothing delighted us more at this beautiful spot than the rich, fresh, genuine greensward,—the honest grass, in short,—upon which we could sit down with comfort. The trees, also, round Louisville were incomparably finer than any we had seen elsewhere, especially the sycamores. They were not only taller, but, having plenty of space in which to spread out their branches, they had grown up with singular beauty of effect. The various bends, or reaches, also, of the magnificent Ohio, just at this spot, covered over with steam-boats and rafts, and fringed with noble forests, and numberless gay villas, added greatly to the enchantment of the scenery at this most interesting station of all the backwoods.

I need hardly say, that our letters of introduction soon brought troops of friends to our service, who, as in every other part of this hospitable

country, were anxious to make our stay agreeable and profitable.

After taking a week's rest at Louisville, we thought it right to settle what our future plan of operations was to be. At times, I must confess, I was much disposed to steer back again to the coast. I then became very anxious to proceed through Kentucky to Tennessee, in order to pay my respects to General Jackson. This project, which I had much at heart, would certainly have been carried into effect, but for an accident over which I had no control, and could not remedy. The third plan, which was finally adopted, was to turn our heads once more to the westward, that we might visit the confluence of the Missouri with the Mississippi. At one time we thought of going straight to that interesting scene by land, but eventually it was settled that we should again take to steam-boat, descend the Ohio to its junction with the Mississippi, and then ascend that stream to St Louis. All this we accomplished successfully, notwithstanding the great increase in the number of snags and sawyers, which embarrass the navigation of the Mississippi between the mouths of the Ohio and Missouri. The velocity of the river at some places in this interval was so great, that we had the utmost difficulty in making headway against it. There was one point in particular, called by the uncivil name

of the 'Hanging-dog,' which cost us so much trouble to pass, that our worthy captain almost lost his temper, and said, in answer to some question I put very innocently respecting the rate of going,—"Why, sir, this is the most scandalous bit of river that ever any man had to come up!"

On the 18th of May, we reached the town of St Louis, formerly a French settlement, lying on the right bank of the Mississippi. Here we were most kindly entertained by the inhabitants, who got up some particularly agreeable parties to meet us, in a style of elegance we certainly never expected to find in so remote a corner of the globe. To do any justice, however, to a description of the society of this cheerful spot, I should be obliged to go into details of minute circumstances, and draw individual characters with a degree of precision which, however complimentary it might be made, would hardly be agreeable to our hospitable friends on the spot. I must therefore, though reluctantly, pass on, as I have done elsewhere, to topics of far less interest.

On the 20th of May, we embarked in the Illinois steam-boat, on an expedition to the confluence of the Missouri with the Mississippi. Nothing can be conceived more interesting in its way than this remarkable junction, abreast of which the current, fortunately for our researches, was so rapid, that we passed it very slowly.

The most striking circumstance observable at this confluence, is the difference in the colour and purity of the two rivers. The Missouri is nearly as thick as peas soup, of a dirty, muddy, whitish colour; while the Mississippi, above the confluence, is of a clear light blue, not unlike that of the deep sea, or the Rhone at Geneva. At some places it looked like the Tweed, when it has got a slight tinge of the moors; but when a glass of it was taken up, it always appeared as clear as any spring water. If a glass of the Missouri were, however, dipped up in like manner, it was perfectly turbid, worse than the rain puddles on a highway, and in a few minutes a stratum of mud was formed in the bottom of the tumbler. The surface of the Mississippi, above the confluence, was clear of drift wood, while that of its companion was all covered over with half-burnt logs, trees with their branches torn off, and great rafts or floating islands of timber, drifted from the interior, sweeping and swirling along at a furious rate.

The Missouri enters the Mississippi from the westward, nearly at right angles to it; and such is the impetuosity of its current, that it fairly drives the Mississippi over to the left or eastern bank. There were literally not above ten or twelve yards of clear water on that side of the river, while all the rest was muddy. The line of actual contact

was particularly interesting. It seemed as if the dirty Missouri had insinuated itself under the clear Mississippi; for we saw it boiling up at a hundred different places. First a small, curdling, white spot, not bigger than a man's hand, made its appearance near the surface. This rapidly swelled and boiled about, till in a few seconds it suddenly became as large as a steam-boat, spreading itself on all sides in gigantic eddies, or whirlpools, in a manner that I hardly know how to describe, but which was amazingly striking. At other places the two currents ran along side by side, without the least intermixture—like oil and water. But this separation never continued long, and the contaminating Missouri soon conquered the beautiful Mississippi;—indeed the stain is never got rid of for one moment during the twelve hundred miles that the united stream runs over before it falls into the Gulf of Mexico.

It is frequently said that the appellation Mississippi is wrong, and that the river ought to bear the name of Missouri all the way to the ocean. The reason of this, if I understand the argument, is, that the Missouri is the larger as well as the longer stream of the two. It surely matters very little what the name is; but, if it do, I think the most direct river, where there is so near an equality in size, is entitled to give its name to the joint current. Now, the Mississippi proceeds directly

onwards, while the Missouri flows abruptly into it on one side.

The confluence is eighteen miles above St Louis; but we ran on past it for about fifteen miles farther, and then landed at a place called the Portage des Sioux, on the right bank of the Mississippi, on the triangle formed by the two rivers. From thence we drove across what is called a Prairie, a level district of country, covered with long grass, and spotted here and there with single trees, or scanty clumps or groves, of considerable interest and beauty, much heightened, no doubt, by the wild nature of the surrounding plain.

After driving across the Prairie, we came to a sort of table land, perhaps 10 or 12 feet higher than the rest of the plain, which was soon discovered to be the ancient bank of the Missouri, in some former age. The road gradually descended from this till we found ourselves bowling along the smooth bottom of what undoubtedly was once the course of that stream. So completely indeed were all the circumstances similar—only wanting that of the river—that the imagination found no difficulty in picturing to itself the distant epoch, when what we now trode upon as firm ground, and was grazed over by herds of cattle, must have been the channel of the gigantic Missouri. It is difficult to describe the sensations which are produced by such

an extraordinary perspective, where objects far too remote for the fancy to adjust with any degree of order, as respects date or succession, are yet so palpably present to the immediate senses, that we feel, for the instant, as if we were admitted to a glimpse of other worlds. I remember experiencing something akin to this, when standing at the bottom of Glen Roy, in the Highlands of Scotland, some hundreds of feet below the level at which it was abundantly obvious the waters of a great lake must have stood, but of which every trace was now gone, except the beach which had fringed its margin amongst the hills.

In the evening we reached the little town of St Charles, on the left bank of the Missouri, about twenty miles above its confluence with the Mississippi.

Next morning, the 21st of May, after a good long sleep, and not a very early breakfast, we set out through the woods upon a walking expedition along the banks of the river, to a spot where we were told there was something worth seeing. The minor difficulties of this morning's excursion were numerous—but I have no space left for such things—and shall only say, that in the whole two thousand miles which we had travelled on these mighty western waters—the Alabama, the Mississippi, and the Ohio—during the last seven weeks,

we had met with nothing which cost us so much trouble as about half a league of scrambling through the rank brushwood on the side of this celebrated stream.

The professed object of our walk was to see one of those curious collections of logs, called rafts, which are formed by the trunks of trees brought down by the freshes in the rainy season. On reaching a bend in the Missouri, we observed a small wooded island lying at the distance of a hundred yards or so from the shore, from the upper end of which, or that fronting the stream, there extended for a considerable distance, a matting of drift-wood, which we were told had gone on gradually accumulating from year to year, till it had acquired its present magnitude. The upper end rested on the shore, far above us, so that a sort of bridge might be said to extend from the bank to the island.

Some of the great rivers in America, such as the Atchafalaya, are completely covered at different places with enormous rafts of this description. The river just mentioned flows out of the Mississippi at a point about 250 miles from the sea. Twenty-seven miles from the efflux the rafts begin, and although they extend over a space of twenty miles, the whole distance is not filled up with timber. The aggregate raft, accordingly, is only about ten

miles long. The width of the Atchafalaya is 220 yards—the raft extends at many places from bank to bank, and is supposed to be about eight feet thick. It has been accumulating for more than fifty years, and is made annually larger by supplies of trees drifted into the river from the Mississippi.* It has been proposed to remove this raft; and as it would add greatly to the value not only of the adjacent lands, but to the whole surrounding country, to open the navigation of the Atchafalaya, I have little doubt that the enterprising citizens of Louisiana will erelong set about it, and what they set about they will probably accomplish.

Just before we reached the spot from which we saw the raft on the Missouri, a portion of the bank, not a hundred yards above where we stood, being undermined, had fallen in, by which a prodigious mass of trees were projected headlong into the river. The interest of this extraordinary spectacle was a little diminished, indeed, by the reflection, that had we arrived a little sooner, we might have seen the actual plunge. I set about sketching it, however, with the Camera Lucida, as fast as I could, before the current carried away the fallen trees. As soon as this drawing was completed, I turned round, and shifted the instrument about six or eight feet further down the stream, in order to make a

* See Darby's Louisiana, page 64.

sketch of the point against which the raft of drift-wood was abutted.

We had not changed our position more than three minutes, before we heard a tremendous crash, and felt the ground shake under us. On stepping back to the spot where we had been seated in the first instance, we observed there had been another falling in of the banks, and that some of the very trees drawn in the first sketch, then growing in full vigour and beauty on the shore, were now lying prostrate on the top of their predecessors.

I am not aware that life, amongst its smaller miseries, has a more bitter mortification than the consciousness of having lost such a sight as this must have been, only by a few seconds. It signifies nothing that we heard the dash, or that we actually saw the trees standing, and in the next minute beheld them at full length, half floating on the stream, half clinging by their roots to the treacherous bank;—the unpleasant fact is, we did not see the catastrophe itself—and therefore, as far as concerns our personal knowledge of one of the most characteristic circumstances relating to the history of these great rivers, we might as well have staid at home!

On the 24th of May, we turned our faces fairly homewards, and commenced a highly interesting journey across the Prairies of Illinois, and I re-

gret exceedingly that I have not left myself room to describe our adventures in detail; for the country is quite recently settled, and there are many circumstances which come in a traveller's way, in such a region, which he is not likely to meet with any where else. I cannot, however, deny myself the pleasure of mentioning the Grand Prairie, which we crossed on the 25th of May. We had already crossed six or seven others, amongst which was one particularly beautiful of its kind, and named—with more imagination than one generally meets with in the American nomenclature—the Looking-Glass Prairie.

Some of these singular places are nearly level, others have a gently swelling or rolling surface. The Grand Prairie of Illinois has specimens of both kinds, but its general character is level, with a few clumps of trees, and these far between. The resemblance to the sea, which some of the Prairies exhibited, was really most singular. I had heard of this before, but always supposed the account exaggerated. There is one spot in particular, near the middle of the Grand Prairie, if I recollect rightly, where the ground happened to be of the rolling character above alluded to, and where, excepting in the article of colour—and that was not widely different from the tinge of some seas—the similarity was so very striking, that I almost forgot where I was.

This deception was heightened by a circumstance which I had often heard mentioned, but the force of which, perhaps, none but a seaman could fully estimate; I mean the appearance of the distant insulated trees, as they gradually rose above the horizon, or receded from our view. They were so exactly like strange sails heaving in sight, that I am sure, if two or three sailors had been present, they would almost have agreed as to what canvass these magical vessels were carrying. Of one they would all have said, "Oh, she is going nearly before the wind, with top-gallant studding-sails set." Of another, "She has got her courses hauled up, and is going by the wind." And of a third they might say, "She is certainly standing towards us, but what sail she has set is not quite clear."

On the 27th of May, we entered the State of Indiana, where we found a very different sort of travelling from that we had met with in the delightful Prairies. The country is hilly nearly all the way, the roads execrable, and the carriages are made as rigid as if they had been cast in one piece of metal. This is quite necessary, I admit, considering the duty they have to go through. One other refinement in these vehicles I must mention. In every other part of the Union we found at least one door, though very rarely two, in any stage-coach. But upon this occasion, where so large an

opening was a weakness that could not be afforded, the passengers had nothing left for it—females as well as males—but literally to mount the coachman's seat by aid of the wheel, and then scramble in at the front as well as they might. The only one of our party who particularly relished this primitive method of stowage was the child, who was enchanted with the variety of traverses which she was exposed to before reaching the seats within.

During this rugged journey, we were never exposed to those privations as to food that we had met with sometimes in the South, for provisions of all kinds were in abundance. I cannot say, however, that my observations go to confirm the accounts I have read of the intelligence, and high-mindedness, as it is affectedly called, of the thinly scattered inhabitants of those new countries. I did not expect, indeed, to find any great polish of manners in the backwoods, but I must say, that although we met with no inhospitality, we encountered so many instances of coldness and gruffness, that I have no wish again to exchange the obligations and entanglements of civilisation for the selfish freedom of the forest.

It is not that the inhabitants of those countries are ill-natured—quite the reverse—they seem always most willing to oblige when prompted so to do. But what I complain of is the want of habi-

tual politeness—the spontaneous desire to be civil and useful. And I strongly suspect, that such is the inevitable consequence of people living far apart, and trusting exclusively to their own exertions for their support. The same class of things which limit the range of their good offices, limit also their means of acquiring knowledge, tend to rivet prejudices, and to augment ideas of self-importance. To talk, therefore, of people so circumstanced, being possessed of any remarkable degree of intelligence, is to declare the existence of a moral or rather a political miracle, of which civil society presents no example.

On the 29th of May, having passed through the State of Indiana, we recrossed the Ohio to Louisville in Kentucky. Next day we embarked in a steam-boat for Cincinnati in the State of Ohio, which we reached on the 31st, having occupied twenty-three hours in a passage of 150 miles, against the current.

Cincinnati is one of the much-cried-up wonders of the West, and not without reason. Considering the short period which the State of Ohio has been settled, it furnishes a very striking instance of the activity of this bustling people. The town itself, which, by the way, is very pretty, and very advantageously situated on the right bank of the Ohio, appeared to have more the air of business and

energy of purpose than any other we had seen since leaving New Orleans. There is probably something in its being placed in a non-slave-holding State, which contributes to give it so spirited and agreeable a character. But be this as it may, it is certainly an extraordinary specimen of the growth of population and industry, in a part of the country which a few years ago was a wilderness frequented only by a handful of savages. In 1805, the inhabitants of Cincinnati did not exceed 500 but in 1820, they had increased to 9733.

Our researches, however, were all cut short at this stage of our journey, by the illness of our little girl, whose long exposure to the noxious air of the great rivers, had given her a complaint very fatal to children in that country, and called by the ominous name of Cholera Infantum. We were above all things fortunate, however, in meeting, just at the moment of need, with a medical gentleman of distinguished abilities, to whose kind attentions and extensive information, we had already been greatly indebted. He at once advised us to proceed to the North—to get away from the rivers, and to climb the Alleghany mountains without delay.

Accordingly, on the 4th of June, we reluctantly took leave of Cincinnati, where there was so much to tempt us, not only in the way of local curiosity,

but also of an agreeable and very kind society, from whom, under any other circumstances, it would have been ungracious to have run away so soon.

Our voyage up the Ohio, in a red-hot steam-boat, in weather of the same temperature, with our poor little patient daily drooping under the malaria, was any thing but an agreeable one. On the 8th of June we reached Pittsburg, appropriately called the Birmingham of America, where we resolved to stay merely long enough to recover from the fatigues of that most wearisome of conveyances, a steam-boat.

On the 11th of June, accordingly, at three o'clock in the morning, we left Pittsburg in the mail-stage, and almost immediately began to ascend the lower range of the Alleghany mountains, so well named the Backbone of America. The effect of the pure air of the hills on our invalid was very striking. She had been lifted from her bed, and placed in the carriage in a sleep, so profound, that even the jolting of the most stony road we had yet encountered, failed to awake her. For many days past the expression of her countenance in sleep had been more or less indicative of the disease which was fast wearing down her frame, but of whose dangerous effects we had only of late become fully aware. Just as we reached the top of a remarkably pretty wooded ridge, on which

we stopped to take our last view of the valley of the Ohio, then several hundred feet below us, the sun peeped over the sky line of the Alleghanies. I caught a glimpse of the child's face as the bright light fell upon it, and I am not sure that I ever looked upon her little countenance with so much satisfaction as I did at that moment. The look of feverish anxiety was gone, and the slight trace of a smile was playing about her lips. When we awoke her at the breakfasting station, she opened her eyes and laughed, completely rested, and rejoicing, unconsciously, in the new climate. Even to our more robust senses the air was decidedly different;—it breathed sweeter and fresher;—and gave an elastic tone to the spirits, which enabled us to bear up against the severe fatigues of the next five days' journey.

From that time our young traveller gradually recovered; but the alarm being once taken, we decided upon returning home as fast as possible, without revisiting Canada or the Eastern States, or even passing through New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, which formed part of the original plan.

In crossing the Alleghanies, we generally started at three or four o'clock, travelled about six hours before breakfast, and as many more to dinner, and an equal portion of time before we got to bed. With all this, such was the miserable state of the roads, that in these eighteen hours of travelling, we

made out on the three first days, only 56, 60, and 68 miles successively. On the fourth day, we travelled 64 miles in fifteen hours; and on the fifth or last day, which brought us once more to Philadelphia, we accomplished 64 miles in twelve hours. The sufferings we underwent on the second day's journey exceeded any thing we had previously gone through in America. After that, however, we rallied, and could enjoy the gradual transition from a rude state of society, to one of more cultivation, the difference being pretty well measured by the quality of the roads, and the style of the taverns.

We could scarcely believe that Philadelphia—which, however, we had always liked—was the same place; every thing looked so clean and comfortable, and the people were all so kind and so anxious to be useful, as if they wished to recompense us for the hardships we had been exposed to in the west.

On the 23d of June, we proceeded to New York, and on the 1st of July, embarked in the packet ship Corinthian, which landed us all well and hearty, at Cowes in the Isle of Wight, on the 22d of July, 1828, after an absence from England of fifteen months and five days. During this busy interval, independently of the double voyage across the Atlantic, we had travelled in America eight thousand eight hundred miles, without meeting with the slightest accident.

CHAPTER XVII.

"PRAY, sir," said an American gentleman to me, one day just before the close of our journey, "will you tell me in what respect you think we differ most from the English?"

After a moment's pause, I replied, "that I thought the absence of loyalty in America was the most striking characteristic difference."

"The absence of loyalty!" he exclaimed; "you surprise me very much. I cannot help thinking you must be mistaken; for we have a strong love of our country and our institutions, which more than takes the place of your loyalty."

"You forget," I said, "that we have just as firm a love for our country and institutions as the Americans can have for theirs; but it is what we have in addition that I speak of."

"What is it exactly that you mean?" he demanded.

"I mean, that we have universally, throughout

the nation, a feeling of personal attachment to the King on the throne—a pride and pleasure in his happiness and success, and a resolute determination to support him, as a matter of habit, duty, and sentiment."

"But," said he, "is not that confined very much to courtiers, and to officers civil and military, who look to this source for advancement?"

"Certainly not," I answered. "It pervades all ranks and classes, and influences thousands,—I may well say millions,—who never saw the King, and who by no possible chance can be benefitted, in the way you insinuate, by the expression of these feelings."

"Of what use then can your loyalty be?"

"Of very great use," I replied, "as a bond of union amongst us. It unites all parties, however dissimilar their opinions and wishes may be in other respects. It signifies not where you travel in England—amongst high or low—you will find the same feeling, the same constant quantity, as the mathematicians call it, in almost every breast."

"Yes, sir; but don't we sometimes see your Monarchs not very civilly handled? Not to speak of more serious affairs, don't your newspapers and satirists fling about their ink occasionally, and your mobs fling stones?"

"I grant such things do take place at times;

but the reaction is always far more than sufficient to make up for the transient fault. The fondest married couples, you know, have a little huff now and then."

"Well! well!" he said, good-humouredly, "I will not insist upon these exceptions; but still I do not see of what practical utility this loyalty of yours can be. What effect has it on the character of individuals, who would otherwise, I think, be as well or better without it?"

"It strikes me," I answered, "that the feeling I speak of, is, perhaps, the least selfish in its nature that can be imagined. There is hardly one in a million amongst us who looks to any personal advantage from its expression, or indeed ever thinks of putting his thoughts into words respecting it. And yet, every man is conscious that his neighbour is equally under its influence, as a part of his natural birth-right."

"Still, I don't see what good it can do."

"Surely," I said, "there must arise good from the extent of this common sympathy. It must be advantageous to spread over a community so generous a sentiment as this. To make all men think and feel alike on any one such topic, cannot fail, I should imagine, to make them better members of society."

"But what good does it do to the State—to the country, politically speaking?"

"It helps probably more than any thing else to keep all things in their proper places. It is the grand symbol, if I may so call it,—the masonic secret,—by which the distinction of ranks is preserved. For as long as men are thoroughly loyal, and know that the mass of the population are so too, these distinctions of which I speak—which are perhaps the greatest source of our happiness and power in every respect—are perfectly safe."

"I don't see how that is."

"It is because every man feels that long before any thing can touch the throne, his own station in society would be broken up; and as every one in England, however much, individually, he may aspire to higher things, has a strong love for his own class, and cannot bear the thoughts of its being disturbed in its place in the scale,—he cherishes with the greatest fondness a feeling which he well knows to be the keystone, or truest guarantee, of the stability of that classification."

"You confuse me a little," he said. "These ideas of yours are so different from ours in America, that I cannot either take them up, nor can I fairly answer them. What is the use, after all, of these distinctions upon which you harp so much?

And how does your having a King contribute to their establishment in the first instance, or to their stability afterwards?"

"Very naturally, I think. By allowing the chief station in the country to be filled by the hereditary nomination of Nature, to use a quaint expression, all the rest of the community are left to attend to their own substantial affairs, instead of being distracted, as so very large a proportion of your population are, about matters of moonshine."

"Ay! ay!" cried he, laughing. "You gentlemen from Europe see all things here through a pair of monarchical spectacles, and that is the reason our country and institutions never get justice done them. However," continued he, "do tell me what good result comes of these distinctions in rank?"

"Simply," I said, "that sort of good which always flows from the due subdivision of labour, or, in other words, from people attending steadily to their own affairs. They are happier, and more useful to themselves and to the community—they are as contented as they ought to be, consistently with a due stimulus to industry; and so far from wishing to derange the system which they find already formed, they have a strong personal interest in maintaining its integrity, from a feeling that their talents and industry, whatever these may be,

are more likely to produce useful results, as things remain, than if changed to they know not what. Now, as all these distinctions in society are essential to the permanence of the monarchy, so they, in turn, are manifestly dependent for their existence upon its stability. Thus the feeling of loyalty may be said with truth, in one sense of the word, to rest upon interested motives; but these motives are too indefinite, and too much involved in the other complicated arrangements of society, to give them the slightest tinge of a merely selfish character."

"At all events," said the American, "I am sure you will admit, that if we are without loyalty, in your sense of it, we are greatly better off than you, in having freed ourselves from the burden of an Established Church!"

"As I don't much like comparisons," was my answer, "I wish rather that you had put your questions about the Church as you did about loyalty."

"Well, then, of what use is your Established Church?"

"It is infinitely useful," I replied, "in preserving the purity of religious doctrine, which ought to be the first consideration in every country;—and it is useful in alliance with the state, in maintaining the purity of political practice;—

while in private life it is no less efficacious in giving confidence and uniformity to virtue, and true dignity to manners."

My friend opened his eyes, stared, but said nothing. Although he looked quite incredulous, I went on.

"The Established Church, by its numbers, its wealth, and its discipline, has acquired great power. I do not speak of the churchmen only, you must understand, but include in the term that immense mass of the community, who, being as much in earnest as any churchmen can possibly be, co-operate with them, heart and hand, in preserving the Protestant religion in its purity. They are far too large a body, and too much scattered, to be influenced by any sudden wind of doctrine, and therefore they go on with a degree of regularity eminently conducive to right-mindedness in religious matters, not only as they are themselves affected, but as the whole community is affected. These influential members of the Church, indeed, are so thickly distributed, and as it were dovetailed into the framework of our social body, that society at large cannot move unless the Church goes along with it."

"Yes, that is all very well for your Church of England people—But what say the dissenters?"

"They are, in my opinion, nearly as much be-

nefitted by the Establishment as any other members of the community."

"How can that possibly be?"

"In this way. You will grant me that it is of great consequence to the dissenters that religion should be steadily and powerfully encouraged, or, if I am not using a word too familiar for the occasion, should be made the permanent fashion of society; by which I mean, that it should not be allowed to descend from its proper station, or be considered in any light but as the first and most important of all our duties. Now, I conceive the influence of the Established Church applies here with great force, and affords as it were a defence to the general cause of religion, similar to what the ocean does to the Island in which we live. Besides which, the Church not only exhibits a magnificent example of religious doctrine, but furnishes a model of clerical manners and learning, which in practice—I beg you to observe most particularly—is tacitly admitted to be so eminently characteristic of the service of such a cause, that no sectarian has any chance of success, unless more or less he acquire the knowledge and adopt the habits of this great pattern. I can say with perfect truth, that after having seen a good deal of the world, I do not believe there is any other instance of so large a body of men, amongst whom

there will be found such exemplary purity of manners and of conduct in all respects, as in that of the clergy. Exceptions will and must occur as long as our nature is imperfect. But whether the character which I have ascribed to the clergy in general be caused by the nature of their duties, or spring from their interests, or be created and continued by long habit, such is the fact. Upon the whole, there is perhaps no greater blessing which England enjoys than that of having so many men, whose conduct and attainments are undoubtedly far above the average, established as permanent residents all over the country."

"Yes," said he, "this looks very fine; but again I ask, what do the sectarians themselves say?"

"I do not know," I replied, "what they say; but I believe I may venture to assert that every sensible man amongst them knows right well, that if the Established Church were gone, they must go too. Any political tempest that should shake the Establishment, might, in the first instance, tear the sectarians to pieces. The sectarians, therefore, of every denomination, are very wise to accept, and are happy to enjoy, her noble shelter in the meantime. They have also, I am well convinced, much pride and pleasure in the companionship; for there must be at heart the deepest sympathy between them. They are rooted in one common

earth, and although their altitude may, to appearrance, be somewhat different, they all lift their heads to one common sky."

"This I can partly understand," he said; "but what possible good can arise from the union of Church and State? Is not the expense of the Establishment a very great weight to the country?"

"Surely it is; but so is the ballast to a ship; and without it she would upset. To spread canvass alone is not to sail fast, or, at all events, is not the way to ensure the object of the voyage. And so it is with governments. Both statesmen and seamen must have something unseen to counterpoise their external exertions; otherwise they inevitably run adrift, and mar the fairest opportunities of advancing the public service.

"There seems, indeed, to be but one sure set of principles of action in the world. At least, we have the experience of all times and all nations to show, that where these are not steadily adhered to, there will inevitably be failure. Even when they are adhered to, there may often be misfortune; but still the best chance that the imperfection of our nature admits of, will certainly accompany the practical exercise of the Christian doctrines. It is therefore clearly our duty to give to governments all the advantages which those lessons afford. An Executive such as ours, you will observe,

is so powerful, that occasions might often arise for applying its strength to mischievous objects, either to serve the purposes of ambition or those of passion. On these occasions the country might suffer essentially, were there not some formidable and permanent check to vice and folly in every shape, or even to the operation of virtuous intentions misdirected by enthusiasm. As things are now arranged with us, it follows, that however much any minister or party, with or without the support of the crown—however much even the mass of the people, or the majority for the time being—may be carried away by these impulses, there is not the least chance that the Church will ever be drawn into the vortex. That body, as I have already observed, is far too large to be suddenly acted upon, and too much controlled by a set of formal and long-established habits, both of opinion and of feeling—to say nothing of the restraints of a complicated discipline—to yield to any such transient impressions, however general they may become.

"In this sense the Church may be said to act the part of the fly-wheel in a great engine. By its ponderous inertia, it prevents the machinery from flying forwards upon any sudden accession to the impelling power; and, in like manner, when the nation begins to grow languid or indifferent to its duties, the same irresistible momentum car-

ries on the movement with admirable uniformity—so that the whole proceeds with smoothness and consistency, in spite of the inequalities of the force applied, or of those in the work to be performed. Statesmen of extraordinary talents do sometimes rise up, and carry all before them so completely for a little while, that casual observers might, upon these occasions, fancy the Church tottered, or that its influence was essentially lessened. But the tide of opinion, which has only ebbed a little, is sure to make again, and, as it flows, to bear back the country with it—simply because those principles, which direct the stupendous authority alluded to, are integral parts of the national character, and, I may add, of our nature itself. They have been collected together from the experience of all ages, and they are embodied with us in that particular form which seems best adapted to the practice of those duties which Religion inculcates."

"But why," said my friend, the American, "should not all this be done without any alliance between the Church and State?—why should not the influence of the Church and its duties, both religious and moral, be fully acted upon without this anomalous and expensive union?"

"Because," I answered, "it appears essential to the operations I have described, that both of these great parties in the State should have a di-

rect personal interest, if I may so call it, in the power of the other, as well as a mutual political advantage, in the heartiness of their union.

"It appears to me, accordingly, quite essential to the public good, that the government should be carried on upon those principles, and upon those only, which it is the sacred duty of the Church to enforce. If this be not granted—or if it be maintained, that any other maxims than those which spring from that source, can be permanently available in States, any more than in the case of individuals, my argument is at an end.

"While the Church, however, is firm as any rock to these vital principles, nothing, as we all know, can be more unstable than the will of kings, ministers, and people; and, therefore, it becomes essentially necessary to good government, that the Church—which is the only fixed body in the whole country—should be made at all times to possess a hearty interest in lending its aid, to steady its more powerful but less consistent companions.

"To borrow one more illustration from the sea, I should say, that the Established Church may be compared to the rudder, and the country, with its multifarious arrangements of society, to the ship. Nothing on board,—below, or aloft,—tall masts, spreading sails, angry cannon, the ungovernable elements, or still more contentious crew, can be

turned to proper account if the helm be neglected. So it is with the regular, almost unseen instrumentality of the Church in State affairs; and such is the mutual advantage between it and the country."

"But why place four-fifths of all the patronage in the hands of the Crown?"

"Because, unless the Church be thus made to have a strong interest in keeping the Executive powerful—which can be effected only by keeping it in the right—she would have no adequate and permanent motive to interfere with effect. On the other hand, the Government knows, that while without this co-operation it cannot long succeed,—with the Church cordially on its side, it is all powerful. The Crown, therefore, has a direct interest in maintaining the dignity and importance of the Church, by the judicious administration of its extensive patronage."

"If all this be sound political doctrine," said the American, "why not put the whole power at once into the hands of the Church, as it used to be in the golden days of Roman Catholicism?"

"Because," said I, "that would be giving two incompatible duties to be performed by the same hands, the result of which incongruity would be, that neither would be executed well. Clergymen make miserably bad governors of countries, and

statesmen might prove fully as bad ministers of religion—at least the attempt to unite the two has always failed. Nevertheless, they do admirably either to co-operate or to check one another, according to circumstances. Religious and civil duties go well enough hand in hand, on equal terms; but if either is placed completely under the command of the other, both are sure to suffer."

"Oh," cried he, "you don't suppose I was serious in recommending a clerical government?"

"No, certainly, I supposed no such thing, but I wished to show you how extensively the system of distinction in classes, which is merely the division of labour applied to society, was carried into practice with us, in great matters as well as in small ones, and how the community at large, quite as much as the Crown, including, of course, every description of dissenters, were benefitted by keeping up an Established Church."

"These things," said my candid friend, "sound so very strangely to American ears, that you must forgive me if I do not give my assent to them. At all events, you must allow that our system works very well here, without an establishment such as you speak of?"

I was silent.

"Well, well," exclaimed my friend, rather impatient at my hesitation, "I trust you will al-

low that good faith, public spirit, and fair dealing, enter more essentially into our popular institutions than they can possibly do into your aristocratical ones?"

"Will you give me leave," I said, "to answer that question by asking one myself?"

"Surely!"

"Do you conceive that good faith and confidence, whether public or private, necessarily go together?"

"I do not quite understand the question," he said.

"Are not confidence and good faith," I repeated, "reciprocal? Can you expect a servant or a tradesman to be honest, if you are constantly telling him that he is a cheat? or treating him as if he were one?"

"I do not deny your position," he replied.

"Well, then," I asked, "how can you expect genuine good faith in your public men in America, when you never trust them?"

"How do you know that we don't trust them?"

"Because I see you systematically changing them every year, and because I see no man remain long enough in office, or in any department of public life, to acquire extensive influence by his knowledge of business, or by his experience in the ma-

nagement of the people about him, or by the exercise of his talents."

"Oh, yes! It is quite true we change our public men pretty often, and we do not submit to leaders, as you call them; but that does not arise from want of good faith on their part, or from a want of confidence on that of the people."

"From what then does it arise, I beg to know?"

"It springs entirely," he answered, "from the nature of our institutions. If we do not exactly hold that all men are born alike, we at least consider, that every man has an equal right to a share in the administration of public affairs. In order to accomplish this great object in a practical way, or, in other words, to give every man his birthright, we encourage the rotation in office, by which, not every man, certainly, but a very great number of men, and all those who are competent, have a chance in turn of fulfilling their duty as citizens. We have about three thousand legislators in session annually, more than half of whom are always fresh from the people, and have never been in public life before."

"But," said I, "why not allow the management of your public affairs to fall into the hands of persons chosen exclusively from amongst the ablest men in the country? Surely things in a state, as in a family, will be better managed if

placed under the superintendence of experienced and clever leaders, than if left to the guidance of those who have merely good intentions?"

"Certainly they will," he answered; "and after all, we do, in point of fact, allow our ablest men to regulate affairs; it is impossible to prevent this, nor do I say it would be desirable."

"I shall be obliged to you," I said, "to answer me one question.—What description and degree of power do you confide to the hands of any of those persons to whom you allude? Can you point out any body of men, or even any one man, in the general government, or in those of the States, from end to end of the Union, who is, or ever has been, vested with permanent authority, or with more than the shadow of power?"

"Why, I allow we do tie up their hands pretty closely. It is necessary we should superintend them. In this country, we, the people, govern, you know."

"I do know that," I said.

"Well, then, if we govern, it is right we should interfere, and see what is doing, and not leave it to ambitious men to mock us with the mere semblance of self-government. No, sir, in this country, in every branch of public affairs, in the Federal as well as in the State governments, the power resides emphatically in the people."

"In other words," I said, "you will not trust

any set of public men to manage the public affairs. You do not choose that the science of government should become a profession, requiring to be studied like any other business?"

"We do not," he replied. "We know and feel that we ourselves are competent to the task of self-government, and we see no necessity, nor any advantage, in trusting it to leaders; to men who would make a job of the administration of affairs."

"In short," said I, unable to suppress a smile, "by your own showing, you have no wish that any set of leaders should rise up and gain pre-eminence amongst you; no encouragement of a direct or permanent kind is given to draw your ablest men out of their retirement."

"You seem to forget entirely," he here remarked, "that our legislative bodies are very differently composed from yours. With us every man is truly represented, and, consequently, every man may come forward if he pleases; no man is kept down; all men are equal with us—that is our pride."

"Do you suppose, then," I asked, "that with us there is any one in England not represented in the House of Commons?"

"Most assuredly there are vast numbers of persons in your country not represented at all. Are not many of your great cities without a member?

and has not Cornwall alone as many members as Scotland?"

"If you mean," I said, "that in England the representation does not go, as with you, by mere numbers, I grant what you say; nevertheless, I conceive that every man in England, and every class, without exception, is effectively represented; and what is more, is represented by the best possible men—by those who are the most fitted to attend to the interest of the parties concerned."

"You are surely jesting," he cried.

"Indeed I am not—I conscientiously believe what I say; and I think I can show its correctness."

"Do you mean to say that your House of Commons is perfect?"

"By no means; I never even hinted at any such thing."

"Why not reform it, then?"

"Because I do not think we could possibly make it better."

"You puzzle me not a little," he said. "What is it that you really mean?"

"I mean simply this,—that I believe the House of Commons actually contains all the fittest men in the country for the management of the public affairs, or, at all events, quite a sufficient number of the fittest men; and, such being the case, I do

not see how any change could possibly make things better."

"Did you not allow, but a moment ago, that the House of Commons was far from perfect?"

"Certainly I did; but what of that? Is there any thing perfect in this world? Is the human body or mind free from disease? And how can we expect to form, out of such materials, a perfect monster which the world ne'er saw?"

"I don't think that sounds quite fair," he said; "and, if carried a little farther, it would strike at the root of all improvement."

"It certainly does strike," said I, "at the root of all violent and sudden improvements—such as those of revolutionary France,—of which the Americans, by the way, showed the dangerous example."

"Oh! if you please, let us keep clear of such ugly topics. But I want to know something more of this very perfect imperfect House of Commons of yours. Tell me, are there not many men in it who ought not to be there?"

"There are certainly very few, if any, out of the House, who ought to be in it," I answered. "And most assuredly there is no person in the country strong enough to keep any man out whom the country wishes to be in, and who wishes it himself."

"Yes; but are there not many incompetent, many selfish, and otherwise improper, jobbing, intriguing persons in the House of Commons?"

"Very likely," I said.

"Very likely! why, you say that as carelessly as if it were no evil. Do you not conceive it to be one? Would it not be an improvement, if any plan of reform could be fallen upon to purge the House of such members?"

"I do not think it would."

"What the devil can you mean!" he exclaimed.

"I mean just this,—that as long as the House of Commons includes all the fittest men, or an adequate number of men, fully qualified to superintend the management of the public interests, I see no harm that is done by an admixture of such persons as you describe."

"But surely," cried he, "the House would be purer, and would work better, if the places of these incompetent people, who you admit are to be found in it, were supplied exclusively by more independent, more virtuous, or more highly educated persons."

"As for that," I said, "it appears to me, that as there is only a certain amount of work to be done, within a given time, it by no means follows that a greater number of able men would do it better than a few. A ship of war, manned exclusively by

captains, would, I suspect, make very poor work of it, compared to one with the due proportion of landsmen, seamen, and officers. Besides which, it strikes me," I said, "that the same argument exactly applies to society in general; and I don't think we get on the worse for having such varieties."

"I do not quite admit the analogy between the House of Commons and society at large," he observed. "We must of necessity take society as we find it; but we are surely left at liberty to establish what political machinery we please."

"That may be true enough," I answered; "but still I am persuaded that we cannot go far wrong if we take example from nature. And I really believe, that in the particular instance under discussion, she has been copied almost as closely as possible. By which I intend simply to give it as my opinion, that the House of Commons is a just representation of the whole people of England; for I have scarcely a doubt, that if such an analysis could be made, the House would be found to contain all the ingredients which compose the society at large, and in pretty strict proportion thereto. You may have seen in some of the English newspapers, I daresay, a taunting expression, used ironically to describe the House of Commons as the collective wisdom of the nation. That it is so in reality, I

cannot doubt. But at the same time, for aught I know, it contains, in addition, the collective folly, prejudice, and error,—in one word, the essence of every thing high and low, good and bad, in the whole country, mixed and balanced very nearly in the same way. I do not contend that every individual, or even every class of persons, either is, or ought to be, represented expressly and by name; but I should say that all, including the ignorant and selfish, are fully as much entitled to be represented in parliament as they are entitled to the protection of the laws. Without such representation, indeed, the laws would often afford them no protection. If Parliament really includes every class, as I suppose it to do, what reform could possibly make it better than it is?"

"How do you know that matters are actually arranged in the way you describe? for we foreigners must believe very different things, if we are to trust to your writers and orators."

"We can judge only by the results," I said. "We see the country and the House of Commons going hand in hand during a long succession of ages, which could not possibly be the case, as I conceive, were the representative system not brought pretty nearly to the utmost degree of perfection, which the nature of the materials will admit of. Then, as to the details, I never saw or heard of a

man or set of men, or any town or place whatsoever in the country, which found the slightest difficulty in having their cause brought forward, or in getting it duly supported. I believe it has generally been admitted, that Birmingham, for example, though it sends no member, is in practice one of the best represented cities in the empire."

"All this virtual representation sounds specious enough," said the American; "but you cannot deny, I am sure, that your ministers have the command of a vast amount of public money, and that they are not very ceremonious about using it for the purpose of securing a majority in the House of Commons; or that, having such a majority, they lavish the national treasures on other bad purposes, with perfect impunity?"

"You have asked me two questions in one," I replied, "which I shall take the liberty of separating.

"In the first place, I admit that the ministers have a certain degree of irresponsible command over the public purse, and I will grant that with this, which includes patronage, they are enabled, along with other assistance, to secure a majority in the House. But this, I conceive, is strictly as it ought to be. Do you recollect what a prodigious mass of work there is to be performed by the government in question? Does it not stretch over the

whole earth? And does it not very often include struggles of the utmost magnitude and complication? And, if so, is it not indispensable to good public service, that the persons placed in charge of such high duties should be adequately supported? But without being pretty sure of the majority in the House of Commons, how could such a system be carried on at all?"

"Yes," said he; "but suppose it is not properly carried on, what then?"

"Why, then, the country changes the men, not the system. The public voice in England judges mainly by the result; and if the ministers do not suit them, there is no difficulty in changing them, as there is in America, where you must of necessity retain your President and his ministers—good or bad—to the close of a determinate period. And this, by the by, reminds me, that the only point in which you are constitutionally prevented from making changes at pleasure, is that in which the power of changing is the most important for the nation at large to possess."

"Well," said he, "let that pass for the present. You alluded just now to some other assistance besides that of jobbing the public patronage, by which the minister may command a majority in the House of Commons. What is that?"

"A trifle," I replied; "merely the good opi-

nion and confidence of the majority of the nation. When the minister loses that, the public purse, were it ten times heavier than it is, would not long serve his ends."

"Do you mean to say that you never have an unpopular minister,—one who has lost the confidence of the majority of the nation?"

"Not for any great length of time," I answered. "The numerical majority may, indeed, be against him for a while, and yet he may stand, and may well deserve to stand; but not if he have against him the majority of the judicious part of the community, who, as they undoubtedly influence all private matters, ought certainly to influence public ones, which are the same things merely on a greater scale. In a well-regulated community, the right-minded and virtuous will always maintain the ascendency in the long run; and in like manner it will generally be found, that in the House of Commons, the body of members who truly represent the same description of influences, will prevail so inevitably, that no minister that has ever appeared, or that probably ever will appear, can hope to get along at all, unless he have sagacity enough to discover what really is the public opinion, and unless he have talents as well as courage and experience adequate to the task of carrying

into effect the deliberate and concentrated wishes of the nation.

"It is no easy matter, however, to ascertain correctly what the public opinion of the nation really is. There is no class in society whose peculiar province it is to declare it. It belongs, as I conceive, neither to the high nor to the low; nor does it belong to the middling classes, as you may, perhaps, have read in a work of very high authority. It seems to be the aggregate result of the opinions and sentiments of those persons who, by means of their superior knowledge, virtue, and talents, generally influence the people around them in private life, all over the country, and through all its ranks, without exception. But you must not suppose, by any means, that the statesman who obeys even this public voice, at any particular moment, is necessarily the best interpreter of the will of the people. His experience of the past ought to enable him to penetrate so far in advance, as to discover what are likely to be the general, or the average, dictates of this genuine public opinion in the long run. By these he must be guided, however unpopular his measures may happen for a time to prove, even to those judicious and influential persons, whose authority, as I have just said, regulates the public voice, but who, from not being so near

the fountain-head of information, are obliged to judge merely from what they see at the moment.

"This, according to my view of the matter, is the very perfection of political delegation, properly so called; and I conceive, that when public affairs are managed in this way, the people have the means of exercising a far more effective superintendence over their rulers, than they can ever possess under the system called self-government."

"How can that possibly be?" enquired my companion.

"In this way. The power which any minister in England has of doing good, depends almost exclusively upon the degree of confidence which the people repose, not only in his talents, but also in his good faith and disinterestedness. If he lose that, he cannot long remain in office; for without such confidence, he can command none of the resources of the country. He has, therefore, at all times a direct personal interest in making good his title to the public esteem, which can be preserved only by honestly subjecting all his actions to the most undisguised scrutiny, or—which comes very nearly to the same thing—by acting under the consciousness that, sooner or later, at any given moment, his whole conduct may be exposed and canvassed.

"If, when any of these occasions arise, an official man's integrity or public spirit be found in the

slightest degree wanting in the balance, not all his abilities—not all the wealth of the Treasury—not even the power of the Crown, can save him from utter ruin. From that instant, he becomes the person of least consideration in the country. Examples of this kind occur with sufficient frequency to act as a salutary check on the most selfish and adroit ambition.

" What I have said just now, I beg you to take notice, is quite as true, in its degree, of the subordinate servants of the public, as it is of the Prime Minister ; and, in fact, the same principle pervades the whole history of public life. The vigilance I speak of never slumbers—never takes its eye off any man; and as all, or very nearly all, the servants of the public, are strictly trained in the duties of their profession, the country has an opportunity of becoming acquainted with the character of every individual public servant, not only as to ability, but as to moral worth. We have no such thing amongst us as your ' rotation of office;' for we hold that those men who have studied their business regularly will understand it best, and are most likely to be useful. All this renders the scrutiny I spoke of practically operative in the production of good service; for, while it has nothing suspicious or distrustful about it, calculated to weaken the motives to generous exertion, it yet gives every

man distinctly enough to understand that there is but one sure way of escaping censure, and only one of maintaining the public favour.

"If, therefore, I do not overstate this matter, I will put it to your candour to tell me, what higher degree of responsibility can ever be expected under any form of government?"

"Oh!" he exclaimed, "but I think you do overstate things very much; at least, if I am to believe your newspapers, and many of your most eminent writers and public men. Pray, what do you say to their statements?"

"I say, that they are essentially parts of the system, and go to make up the very vigilance I have been speaking of. For their attacks are so fatal to every thing like mere pretension, that nothing but the highest desert can permanently stand against them. Upon men of thorough-bred public spirit they make no hurtful impression. In practice, therefore, the effect of the unsparing criticism to which you allude, is gradually to weed out the incompetent persons, and to supply their places with the most fit men who are to be found for executing the public trust. There is no wish felt amongst us, to pull any man down who proves himself competent to the task he has undertaken; on the contrary, there is rather a desire to force real talents into notice, than to prevent their rise, and certainly we

do all we can to keep them in the front ranks when once we have got hold of them."

"But have you not always ten, ay, a hundred candidates for every vacant office? Is not the supply much beyond the demand in every one of your professions, the public service included?"

"I grant the candidates are sufficiently numerous," I said; "but I do not believe there is in that, or indeed in any profession in the world, an over supply of real talents, or of knowledge, or of industry, or of moral worth."

"I should now like to know," said my friend playfully, as if amused at having got me into a difficulty, "what part the House of Lords has assigned to it in this political drama, which you have been getting up for my edification? We Americans can never fully understand how that anomalous branch of a free government is made practically useful—we don't envy you that department of your system, I can assure you."

"The House of Lords," said I, well pleased to be reminded of this essential distinction between the two nations—"The House of Lords—if I do not speak too fancifully—may be compared to a standing army, engaged by the country to defend the constitution, and trained, by long habits of a peculiar discipline, to resist the attacks of the crown on the one hand, and of the people on the other."

"What kind of training do you mean?" he asked.

"I suppose," said I, "you are aware that the sons of noblemen, in England, are not noblemen, as they are on the Continent?"

"I think I have heard that," he replied. "Yes, I am sure I was aware of that fact; but I don't see exactly what purpose it serves."

"It serves this great purpose;—it forces not only the younger sons of peers into the public service of their country, in the church, in the army, in the navy, and so on, but it compels the eldest son also to work in earnest likewise. For he, you will observe, holds his title merely by courtesy, and is a commoner to all intents and purposes. In order to obtain a seat in the legislature, he must canvass his constituents like any other gentleman in the country; and when he enters the House of Commons, he is very soon made to feel that his importance is measured by his real merits as a man of business, much more than by his rank. He is obliged to mix with men fresh from the people, as you say in America; and, in spite of himself, he is constrained, in the first place, to learn what are the feelings of the country, and, in the next, he is taught to know that it is his truest interest as well as his bounden duty to respect them."

"Well, what does all this do for him?"

"It schools him, and trains him, by the fittest of all courses of discipline, for falling with effect into those ranks to which he has been born, and the duties of which he will by and by be called upon to execute."

"Yes," said my interrogator, "but all the training you speak of, will not make a clever man out of a dull one, or a virtuous nobleman out of a disreputable commoner."

"Neither is it necessary," I replied, "in this imaginary corps of which we are speaking, any more than it is in a real army, that every private in it should be fitted to hold the chief command, or even to act the part of an officer. It is quite sufficient for all the purposes required, that the body of the House of Lords be good men and true; for there will always be master-spirits enough to lead them where their courage, and their confidence in one another—the life and soul of good order—are required to defend the venerable institutions of their country,—by doing which, they prove themselves the best supporters, not only of the liberties of the people, but of the privileges of the crown."

"Yet I am sure you will admit," said he, "that this hereditary acquisition of wealth and station, and the certainty of power and consequence, must

have the effect of making the peerage independent of the people?"

"To a certain extent it does; but it makes them no less independent of the crown, which is an important off-set, I hope you will grant?"

"Yes:—but surely the nature and degree of the intimacy between the aristocracy and the throne, is widely different from that which exists between them and the people?"

"Dissimilar, if you like, but not on that account unimportant. There is no independence in either case. They are mutually dependent; and in this lies the secret of their value."

"I confess I don't understand you."

"My meaning is, that the intimacy—to use your own word—between the people and the aristocracy, though entirely different in kind, is no less salutary than that which subsists between the aristocracy and the throne. In fact, the influence of the people, upon those very persons whom you suppose to be above their reach, is quite as great, and probably greater, than any which the crown, in the plenitude of its power, can bring to bear upon the aristocracy."

"I cannot understand at all how that should be," he observed; "since the monarch is surely the fountain of honour, and from him spring all those high distinctions which give consequence to the

aristocracy; consequently, he must have it in his power to gain them to his side whenever he pleases."

"You argue," I replied, "as if, because the king is the original source of the honours by which the aristocracy of rank are distinguished, he may also be their destroyer. This is to suppose him a despot, not a limited monarch. The peers of England hold their rank by the same tenure as they hold their lives. Either may be taken away, by a solemn judgment of their own body, if they prove themselves unworthy of their station, but not otherwise. There is, however, another and still more important set of distinctions, by which, in practice, the aristocracy powerfully influence the other ranks lower in society."

"What is that?" he asked.

"It is character—moral conduct—knowledge."

"But why," he asked, "is that a source of power more than it would be in any other set of men?"

"Simply because it is more conspicuous, and because the behaviour of persons of rank is more known, and more generally canvassed, than that of any other set of men in the country. The publicity given to every thing in England, indeed, is so great, that nothing which any one in a high station does, can be slipped by unnoticed. He is consequently subjected to a much sterner degree

of scrutiny than persons in the lower walks of life; and is thereby made to feel, that unless his conduct is such as to be approved of by the people, his wealth, his title, and his place in the legislature, go for much less than they would otherwise do. Thus, whatever motives may influence other men, he at least has a never-ceasing stimulus to act according to the rules of public opinion."

"Now, I think I have you," cried my friend, triumphantly; "how does this account agree with what we hear of your dissipated lords, your crim. cons., your exacting landlords, your game laws, and all the catalogue of your aristocratical oppressions?"

"My good sir," I answered, "you are forgetting, or misinterpreting my expression. I did not say that all the nobility were virtuous or able men—I merely said that they were placed in circumstances which gave them stronger and more constant motives to virtuous conduct, than the rest of the community possessed, or could possess. The suspicions you express, and the prodigious outcry which accompanies any dereliction of duty on the part of the aristocracy, are, in fact, the truest guarantees that all will be kept right. If a nobleman gets more credit than a commoner for good conduct, public or private, he is undoubtedly visited with more than proportionate severity, if he fails in

either respect. At all events, it is pretty certain that delinquency in a high station is visited with tenfold severity, or, which is the same thing, not one-tenth part so much allowance is made to excuse the fault."

"I cannot agree to a word of this," he said; "and in truth, we Americans have such a horror at the unequal, and consequently unjust, division of property in England, and especially at these hereditary distinctions and titles, which, in spite of all you have said, still look to me tyrannical and oppressive, and as if they must lead to perpetual hostility between the different ranks of society, that I cannot for a single instant force myself to doubt of their being mischievous, and quite contrary to true freedom, which consists in perfect equality and independence, and cannot exist without them.

"But pray, tell me," he asked, in a good-humoured way, "what do you suppose would be said of you in England, were you to put this conversation into your book?"

"I fear I might incur some risk of being laughed at for meddling with matters which do not concern me; and upon which, it will perhaps be said, I can have had no means of informing myself thoroughly."

"Why not?"

"Because I have been all my life at sea, or have been knocking about in various parts of the globe, without ever having had leisure to read books written professedly on these topics, or even to take steps for making myself acquainted with what is the orthodox philosophy concerning them. My opinions on these matters, accordingly, are derived from observation alone, during much intercourse with all the different classes of society in England, compared, again and again, with society in other parts of the world."

"Why, then," he asked, naturally enough, "should you publish your opinions upon subjects which you say you have not studied thoroughly?"

"Because they really and truly are my opinions at this present time."

"But who cares," said he, laughing good-naturedly, "what your opinions are now, or at any time?"

"At any other time, I am well aware, that my opinions on such topics would be worth little or nothing. But at this moment, when I have undertaken, somewhat rashly perhaps, to give an account of America and her political institutions, I should conceive it quite essential to the completion of that task, to furnish the public, in England at least, with some scale, drawn from circumstances well known to themselves, by which the value of those

unknown things of which I pretend to inform them, may be measured."

"I see.—But suppose your scale is a false one, will not your judgment, by which it is guided, be so likewise?"

"Unquestionably."

"Well, then, of what real use can it be?"

"Surely," I said, "if you know the errors of the scale, you can make as correct measurements with it, as if its graduations were accurately marked. Now, as I write exclusively for my own countrymen, who are quite familiar with the topics just discussed between us, they will thus have some means of estimating the degree of reliance due to my observations and descriptions, when applied to the correspondent circumstances in your country.

"The value of any accounts brought home by a traveller, it appears to me, must always be modified, in the estimation of his readers, by their acquaintance with his habits of thinking on subjects current amongst themselves. Without some such knowledge of the writer's mind, it is impossible they can enter correctly into his views; so that, unless they have some such clew, the risk is, they may often entirely misapprehend him. It is on this account, probably, that private journals, however carelessly written, afford more vivid and more

substantially accurate pictures of foreign scenes, manners, and customs, than the most elaborate statements printed afterwards. The readers of the manuscript are so familiar with the writer, that they know exactly what weight to give to his expressions; and thence, by making due allowance for his habits of observation, they discover what has been the light in which he has viewed the things he describes.

"I am also more anxious on this occasion to prevent misconceptions respecting the particular matters you and I have been discussing this morning, than I should have been, had I never published before on any such subjects. This visit to North America has changed so many of the views I formerly took of political matters, especially with respect to Republics, that I feel it due to such important subjects to leave no ambiguity respecting them, as far as my opinions are concerned. Possibly the value of such opinions may be diminished by their want of stability; but I hope, at all events, that their inconsistency will be received as one proof of their sincerity."

"At all events," said my American friend, "although I fear no foreigner can ever understand our character, or appreciate the value of our institutions, I trust you at least will admit that we are a great nation; that we are treading close on the

heels of the Mother Country; and that we are making gigantic strides in the way of every kind of improvement?"

I remained silent, not knowing well how to reply to such an appeal.

"At least," he added, "I trust you have seen enough to make a favourable report of us to your countrymen; and that you will do what you can to bring the two countries more together?"

My answer was in these words:—"I came away from England with that express intention, or at least, to speak correctly, with the anxious hope that I should find sufficient materials to enable me, with a safe conscience, to make an effort towards the accomplishment of that object."

"And what is the result?"

"I will not conceal from you that I have been somewhat disappointed; and my opinion now is, that while each of our governments retains its present character, any closer intimacy between us is not likely to spring up. Neither do I think, all things considered, it is what the Americans themselves ought to desire."

"Why not? You surely do both countries injustice."

"Pray do not misunderstand me," I said, "or think me unkind. My meaning is simply this. If an American traveller were to come to England—

stay in it as long as I have done in America—and pay as much attention to my country as I have done to his, and after all were to declare, that upon the whole he did not think much further intimacy between the two countries was either probable or very desirable, I should be far from saying his speech was an unkind one to us, or unpatriotic to America,—still less should I say that he did either party the slightest injustice."

"Surely it would be wanting in true philanthropy, however?" he said.

"Not a whit," I replied. "Each of our countries loves its own institutions better than those of the other. You prefer a democracy, we choose to abide by our monarchy. You love to be chopping and changing, we desire to continue in our present path. Which is the best, time will show. But however that may be, it is quite clear, that as our views and wishes are so diametrically opposed, not merely in name but in substance, and in all that we respectively consider valuable in life, any closer contact could not possibly tend to advance the objects of either. We, for our part, have no mind to change to your system; and you, in like manner, I presume, have no wish to come round again to that of England. Let us therefore, in God's name, long preserve our present friendly and useful rela-

tions, leaving it to time and the course of events to regulate the terms of our future intimacy."

"I fear," said my excellent friend, "we are doomed, in America, to be perpetually misunderstood. I trust, however, that this national reserve —which I earnestly desire to see removed—does not extend to individuals. You and I, for instance, may continue to enjoy each other's friendship without risk."

"Indeed I hope so," I exclaimed. "I should be much grieved to think that any thing else could ever be the case. I have had the pleasure of becoming acquainted with many persons in America, whose good-will and good opinion I hope I shall never lose, and for whose kindness to my family and myself I shall feel grateful to the last hour of my life."

So we shook hands and parted.

FINIS.

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VII. Buffalo on Lake Erie.
VIII. River Niagara running into Lake Ontario.
IX. Newly Cleared Land in America.
X. Village of Rochester, State of New York.
XI. View from Mount Holyoke in Connecticut.
XII. Western End of the Great Erie Canal.
XIII. Canadian Voyageurs of Captain Franklin's Canoe.
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XV. The River St Lawrence below Quebec.
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XVIII. Frame-Work of the Bridge across the Congaree.
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XXXII. Wooding Station on the Mississippi.
XXXIII. Steam-boat on the Mississippi.
XXXIV. Steam-boat on the Ohio.
XXXV. Shipping port on the Ohio in Kentucky.
XXXVI. Backwoodsmen and Steam-boat Pilot.
XXXVII. Island of Logs on the Missouri.
XXXVIII. Banks of the Missouri falling in.
XXXIX. Prairie at the Confluence of the Missouri and Mississip
XL. American Stage-Coach.

tions, leaving it to time and the course of events to regulate the terms of our future intimacy."

"I fear," said my excellent friend, "we are doomed, in America, to be perpetually misunderstood. I trust, however, that this national reserve —which I earnestly desire to see removed—does not extend to individuals. You and I, for instance, may continue to enjoy each other's friendship without risk."

"Indeed I hope so," I exclaimed. "I should be much grieved to think that any thing else could ever be the case. I have had the pleasure of becoming acquainted with many persons in America, whose good-will and good opinion I hope I shall never lose, and for whose kindness to my family and myself I shall feel grateful to the last hour of my life."

So we shook hands and parted.

FINIS.

EDINBURGH:
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TABLE I.

Showing the Number of Square Miles in each State of the Union, the Population, Total Annual Receipt and Expenditure of the Revenue, what each Individual pays to the State and General Governments, Expense of their Legislatures and their Civil Lists.

STATES and TERRITORIES.	AREA in Square Miles.	POPULATION, estimated 1st January, 1828. Whites and other free persons.	Slaves.	Total.	Number in a Square Mile.	REVENUE. Receipt.	Expenditure.	Each person pays to the State Government. Dol.	Cents.	Total each person pays to State and General Government. Dol.	Cents.	EXPENSE of Legislature.	Civil List.	AUTHORITIES.
						Dollars.	Dollars.	Dol.	Cents.	Dol.	Cents.	Dollars.	Dollars.	
Maine,	32,000	345,420		345,420	10¾	134,195	137,351	0	39	2	60	19,656	14,884	Treasurer's Report, Dec. 1828.
Massachusetts,	7,800	557,003		657,003	71½	278,378	322,877	0	50	2	71	55,350	68,833	Treasurer's Report for 1026-7-8.
New Hampshire,	9,280	268,065		268,065	28¾	71,000	69,000	0	26	2	47	25,274	15,245	New Hampshire Register, 1827, NewHampshireJoor. June 1828.
Vermont,	10,212	270,820		270,820	27	60,644	68,751	0	22	2	43		6,425	Burlington Free Press, Oct. 1828.
Rhode Island,	1,300	86,540		86,540	63	18,970	13,237	0	22	2	43			Treasurer's Reports, Oct. 1827-8.
Connecticut,	4,674	284,477		284,477	61	82.378	73,149	0	29	2	50	14,000	9,034	Connecticut Courant, July 1828.
New York,	46,000	1,611,307		1,611,307	35	1,888,312	1,934,307	1	17	3	30	95,099	53,910	Comptroller's Reports, 1826-7-8.
New Jersey,	6,900	292,721	3,778	296,499	43	41,200	36,000	0	14	2	35			Private Letter.
Pennsylvania,	43,950	1,193,589		1,193,589	27	2,359,113	2,341,716	1	98	4	19	94,244	110,513	Auditor's Reports, 1827-8.
Delaware,	2.068	72,440	2,500	74,948	36									*Accounts not yet received.*
Maryland,	10,000	319,379	100,000	419,379	38¾									*Ditto.*
Virginia,	64,000	683,410	450,000	1,133,410	17¾	897,969	090,608	0	72	2	93	110,386	77,155	Treasurer's Reports, 1827-8.
Kentucky,	39,000	525,397	166,000	691,397	17¼	150,016	154,509	0	23	2	44	21,405	25,771	Treasurer's Report, Dec. 1828.
North Carolina,	43,000	466,626	235,000	701,628	16	08,702	80,090	0	13	2	34			Private Letter.
South Carolina,	30,080	270,233	280,000	550,233	18½	316,937	393,170	0	57	2	78	18,000	68.000	Comptroller's Report, 1827.
Georgia,	50,200	223,544	189,600	413,144	0⅓	215.445	295,745	0	58⅓	2	79	49 934	25,861	Comptroller's Accounts, 1828.
Tennessee,	40,000	430,176	110,000	540,176	13½	99,533	81,515	0	18	2	39	22,587	20,652	Report of Committee of Finance.
Ohio,	39,000	826,905		826,905	21	189,484	163,776	0	23	2	44	26.906	18,000	Ohio State Journal, Dec. 1828.
Alabama,	50 800	160,733	93,308	254,041	5	67,317	82,014	0	26	2	47	23,279	25,534	Comptroller's Report, Nov. 1828.
Mississippi,	45,350	55,679	52,502	108,181	2⅓									*Accounts not yet received.*
Louisiana,	48,220	101,572	110,502	212,074	4⅓	310,349	243,252	1	46	3	67	37,891	69,111	New Orleans Argus, May 1828.
Indiana,	36,250	196,506	304	196,810	5⅓									*Accounts not yet received.*
Illinois,	59,000	03,820	1,460	85,280	1⅓	91,080	00,983	1	08	3	29	23,296	13,782	Illinois Intelligencer, Dec. 1828.
Missouri,	60,300	85,400	20,800	106,200	1¾									*Accounts not yet received.*
Michigan Territory,	54,000	11,806		11,806	1 in 5									The finances of these Territories are included in those of the General Government.
Arkansas Territory,	121,000	29,400	2,587	31,987	1 in 3¾									
Florida Territory,	45,000	25,000	5,000	30,000	1 in 1½									
District of Columbia,	100	32,331	6,806	39,137	391									
TOTAL,	1,009,144	9,514,347	1,838,155	11,348,462	11	8,016,938 or L.1,703,599	8,106,228 or L.1,722,573	71 cents. or 3s.		2 91¾ or 12s. 4¾d		693,173 or L.147,304	677,305 or L.143,927	*Estimated* Total of the Receipts and Expenditures of the twenty-four States.

Abstract of the Finances of the General Government. Being mean of the years 1825-6-7. See Tables II. and III.	Receipts.	Expenditure.	Each person pays to General Government,	Expenses of Congress or National Legislature in 1825.	Average of the Civil Lists of 1825-6-7.
	Dollars. 25,022,552 or L.5,317,292	Dollars. 23,448,655 or L.4,982,839	Dol. 2 Cents. 21 or 9s. 4d.	Dollars. 563,100 or L.119,659	Dollars. 1,271,877 or L.270,274

REMARKS.

In speaking of the expenses af the United States, people are apt to consider those only which belong to the General Government; whereas, in order to have a correct idea of the finances of that country, the revenue and expenditure of each of the twenty-four States ought to be taken into account. It will then be seen, that, instead of one, there are no fewer than twenty-five separate and regularly organized governments going on at once.

The accounts of the revenue and expenditure from some of the States have not yet been received; but as the population of the nineteen States out of the whole twenty-four for which we have accounts is 10,330,011, or ten-elevenths of the whole population of the Union, a tolerably correct estimate of the total may be formed.

The receipts of revenue for these nineteen States is 7,370,000 dollars, or L.1,566,125. Allowing the same rate of revenue for those States for which we have no accounts, the whole State revenues will amount to 8,016,938 dollars, equal to L.1,703,599; and their whole expenditures to 8,106,228 dollars, equal to L.1,722,573.

The revenue of the General Government is 25,022,552 dollars, equal to L.5,317,292—the amount of State and general revenues being 33,039,490 dollars, or L.7,020,891.

Each person in the Union contributes to the revenue, one way or other, 2 dollars 91¾ cents, or 12s. 4¾d. yearly; or, excluding the slaves, every free person pays 3 dollars 40¾ cents, or 14s. 5½d. yearly.

The total expense of the State legislatures is 700,409 dollars, equal to L.148,836; and that of the State civil lists, 684,375 dollars, equal to L.145,429.

The civil list of the general government is 1,271,877 dollars, equal to L.270,274.

The whole civil lists amount to 1,949,182 dollars, or L.414,201.

The whole population in 1820 was 9,637,999, and in 1828 it was 11,348,462, having increased in that period 1,710,463, or 17¾ per cent.
The Free population in 1820 was 8,099,971, and in 1828 it was 9,510,307, having increased in that period 1,410,336, or 17 4-10ths per cent.
The Slave population in 1820 was 1,538,028, and in 1828 it was 1,838,155, having increased in that period 300,127, or 19½ per cent.

The number of the army of the United States in 1828 was 5,529—by official report of the major-general commanding, dated November, 1828.
Estimated number of officers and seamen employed in the navy for 1829, 5,600—marines, 987—by official report of the secretary of the navy, November, 1828.
The United States navy in 1828 consisted of 12 sail of the line, 17 frigates, 16 sloops, and 7 schooners; of these, 5 ships of the line and 6 frigates were building.
The number of militia in the United States in 1827 was 1,150,158.—See Watterston's Tables.

The expenses of the Judicial Establishment or Judiciary of the General Government in the year 1825, was 223,999 dollars, or L.47,600.
The expenses of the Judiciary of the different States of the Union have not been ascertained.

FINANCIAL AFFAIRS of the GENERAL GOVERNMENT of the UNITED STATES.

Taken from Watterston's Tables, 1829.

TABLE II.—Receipts into the Treasury.

Mean of the years 1826-7-8.

Customs.	Internal Revenue.	Direct Taxes.	Postage.	Public Lands.	Loans and Treasury Notes.	Dividends on Bank Stock.	Miscellaneous.	Total.
Dollars. 21,050,778 or L.4,473,290	Dollars. 22,416 or L.4,763	Dollars. 3,865 or L.827	Dollars. 290 or L.81	Dollars. 1,368,573 or L.290,821	Dollars. 1,666,666 or L.354,166	Dollars. 396,700 or L.84,289	Dollars. 513,297 or L.109,076	Dollars. 25,022,552 or L.5,317,292

TABLE IV.

Years.	Public Debt. Dollars.	Sterling.	Yearly Reduction. Dollars.	Sterling.
1825	83,798,432	L.17,805,042		
1826	81,054,059	17,223,987	2,734,374	L.581,050
1827	73,987,357	15,722,313	7,066,702	1,501,674
1828	67,475,622	14,338,570	6,511,735	1,383,743

TABLE III.—Expenditures.

Mean of the years 1826-7-8.

Civil List.	Miscellaneous.	Foreign Intercourse.	Military Department.	Naval Department.	Public Debt.	Revolutionary Pensions.	Other Pensions.	Indian Department.	Total.
Dollars. 1,271,877 or L.270,274	Dollars. 993,987 or L.211,222	Dollars. 421,199 or L.89,504	Dollars. 3,852,707 or L.818,700	Dollars. 3,843,621 or L.816,769	Dollars. 11,046,698 or L.2,347,423	Dollars. 1,136,872 or L.241,543	Dollars. 215,762 or L.45,849	Dollars. 737,714 or L.156,764	Dollars. 23,448,655 or L.4,982,839